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SOME UNDEVELOPED PHASES OF TENNESSEE HISTORY[1]

By WILLIAM C. BINKLEY

Few states in the American Union can boast of a more colorful, more interesting, or more significant past than that of Tennessee; and yet he who seeks to study and understand that past finds himself baffled by the lack of an adequate history of the state. The broad features of its development are reasonably apparent, of course, but even they are not clearly understood because too little is known about the underlying interests and activities in connection with particular events or movements which helped to determine the nature of that development. Thus any serious attempt to study Tennessee history must begin with a recognition of the fact that until more attention has been given to a large number of its undeveloped phases we cannot reasonably expect to obtain a satisfactory view of the whole process. This paper is being presented, therefore, with the hope that we may consider together some of the things that need to be done about the writing of the history of our state, and possibly by doing so may arrive somewhat nearer to an understanding of how they may be done.

But before we confine ourselves to the field of Tennessee history, it is perhaps advisable to look for a moment at a somewhat broader horizon in order that we may not lose sight of our general bearings. It is hardly necessary to point out that the history of any particular state in the American Union derives much of its vitality from the fact that it is a part of a larger process whose pattern is something more than the sum of its component parts. Like persons, the state is both an individuality and a part of a community, and its history must reflect as accurately as possible the relationship between these two characteristics if it is to be valid. Thus we must consider our history of Tennessee as something more than a mere record of what has happened within the more or less artificial boundaries which separate it from other states; it also includes an analysis of the ways in which its developments are similar to or different from those of the other states. In other words, if we are

[1]This paper was presented at the annual banquet of the East Tennessee Historical Society in Knoxville on October 2, 1942, and it is being published with only a few minor changes in phraseology.

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to understand the value or significance of our own past we must possess the perspective to enable us to see the larger setting in which that past belongs.

Inasmuch as we are concerned here with the problems involved in writing Tennessee history rather than with the history itself, suppose we transfer this question of perspective to the part played by Tennessee in the broad field of American historiography. At the risk of over-simplification, it might be pointed out that historical writing in the United States has gone through at least three broad phases during the period since the founding of the Republic. In the first place it is generally recognized that from Herodotus down to the present time history has always and inevitably rested on investigation, and that successful investigation depends upon the availability of records. If there are no records there can be no history, and thus the first phase of historical work in this country was, of necessity, concerned primarily with the collection of the records. In this work such men as Jeremy Belknap, Ebenezer Hazard, Peter Force, and Jared Sparks laid the foundation upon which the writing of American history was to be based, and it is possible that their interest in New England goes far toward explaining the emphasis which that section has received in our national histories. In later years Lyman C. Draper performed a similar service for the Mississippi Valley and Hubert Howe Bancroft for the Far West; but the South has had to wait for our own generation to undertake this work, and its history has suffered as a result.

The second phase was that in which the historian was trying to tell the people what he thought they wanted to hear about their past. He used the records, to be sure, but his selections from them were influenced by his desire to present the glorious or dramatic aspects of the past in a literary style that would appeal to a wide audience. To most of them, completeness and accuracy of interpretation were less important than royalties, for their writing was their means of making a living. The outstanding name, of course, is that of George Bancroft, of whom a present-day historian has said that he wrote in "a tone of exaltation with which it is almost impossible to write truthful history."[2] Bancroft lived long enough to see his ten-volume history of the United States to the adoption of the Constitution reach its twenty-sixth edition, and was able to observe, also, the beginnings of a new emphasis in

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[2]Michael Kraus, *A History of American History* (New York, 1937), 236. For a more extended treatment of this and earlier phases of American historiography, see John S. Bassett, *The Middle Group of American Historians* (New York, 1917).

historical writing which was to discredit the value of his work on every count except that of literary artistry.

This new emphasis, which constitutes the third phase in the evolution of our historical writing, might be characterized as one in which the historian conceives his function as that of telling the whole truth and nothing but the truth about some part of our past, regardless of whether or not the general public wants to hear it. This is, of course, the so-called scientific school, whose methods and work are too much a part of the procedure of our own time to require any explanation here. But one important effect of this method upon the writing of history should not be overlooked. Because it is not humanly possible for any individual to apply the standards of critical scholarship to all of the enormous mass of records that have been accumulated through the years, the historian has abandoned the idea of comprehensive treatment of the whole field of American history, and has turned to specialization. The one persistent exception, of course, was Edward Channing, who devoted forty years to his proposed eight-volume history of the United States and died before finishing Volume VII. Over against this, pause for a moment to associate some of the outstanding historians of the last quarter of a century with the work which made their reputation: Charles M. Andrews and early colonial history; Claude H. Van Tyne and the American Revolution; Frederick J. Turner and the frontier; William A. Dunning and reconstruction; Ulrich B. Phillips and the ante-bellum South; and Charles W. Ramsdell, who died in 1942 leaving an unfinished history of the Confederacy on which he had been working for twenty-five years. As a result of this trend toward specialization, the only possible way to present a comprehensive view of the whole course of American history is through cooperative enterprise in which each volume is written by a specialist in the field which it covers. The best-known examples are the *American Nation,* in twenty-seven volumes by twenty-five different authors; the *Chronicles of America,* in fifty volumes by thirty-seven authors; and the *History of American Life,* in twelve volumes by twelve authors. The recent announcement of a ten-volume history of the South by ten authors means the extension of the method to the writing of regional history, while New York, Ohio, Illinois, and California have also applied it in the field of state history.

But we must get back to the main path. If we have not wandered too far afield, you will recall that the purpose of this digression was to establish a broader perspective against which to examine the writing of Tennessee history. In making such an examination,

we must ask ourselves two questions: first, what has been done about the history of our state? and second, to what extent does whatever has been done conform to the general pattern? It is neither possible nor necessary to enumerate all that has been written on Tennessee history in order to answer the first question, nor is it necessary to reserve all consideration of the second question until the first has been answered. Actually, the two questions can be considered together, and it is through such an approach that we are forced to face the disturbing fact that not even yet has Tennessee become sufficiently aware of the fundamental importance of the first of the three broad phases indicated above. Thirty-seven years ago Dr. St. George L. Sioussat began his report on the archives of Tennessee with the statement that "very many circumstances have conspired to prevent the preservation of anything like a complete body of archives of the state of Tennessee." Among those impeding circumstances, he enumerated the effect of frontier conditions, the development of sectional divergence within the state, the frequent removals of the capitol, and the destruction of records during the Civil War; but he summed up by saying: "With due allowance, however, for these evils, the fact remains that the chief cause of loss has been the carelessness and lack of public interest in the state with reference to the preservation of historical materials."[3]

That this indictment was deserved at that time is clearly shown by the gaps which appear in the detailed report prepared by him on the basis of a careful examination of the surviving records. Not only were many fundamental manuscript records missing, but only one department of the state government possessed a complete file of its own printed reports. One looks in vain, for example, for much of the official correspondence of the governors of the state; for large sections of the manuscript financial records; and even for some of the manuscript journals of legislative sessions and constitutional conventions. Two quotations are sufficient to provide a clue to what happened. The first refers to the fact that the overcrowding of the office of the secretary of state had led to the storing of overflow documents in the west crypt of the capitol. Here "they lay piled in masses on the stone floors, among old paint barrels, ashes, and trash of every description, dirt, and grime. They were wet and rotting, and the janitor of the capitol burned up several cartloads because of the fact that they were 'wet and nasty and smelled bad.' " The second describes the fate of the ledgers and books of the old State Bank and its branches, more than three

[3]"A Preliminary Report upon the Archives of Tennessee," in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1906, II (Washington, 1908), 197-198.

thousand volumes, which had been stored in the basement of the capitol. "A superintendent of the capitol had these 3,000 great books ripped from their leather covers and sent a score of great wagon loads to the junk dealers and received for them a good round sum for the heavy linen paper. The covers were burned in piles until the undertaking proved too great; because they burned with such slowness they were hauled off and dumped where a fill was being made in East Nashville for a street."[4]

If this sort of thing could happen to official records without raising a storm of indignation, what could be expected with regard to the collection and preservation of private or personal papers? It is reasonable to suppose that Tennesseans of prominence carried on correspondence and kept records of their interests and activities as did leaders in other states; but the absence of a public sense of the value of such papers for historical purposes resulted in a lack of any intelligent program for their preservation. It is perhaps safe to say that if such men as John Sevier, or William Carroll, or John Bell, or Hugh Lawson White, or John Catron had lived in Massachusetts, or Pennsylvania, or Illinois, or Wisconsin, their personal papers would now be available for use by the historian. But the papers of these and many other Tennesseans either have been irretrievably lost or have become so dispersed among descendants that only the combined skill of genealogists and expert detectives could bring them together again. And how much Tennessee history has disappeared with them can only be guessed.

On the other hand, we should at least be thankful that a few such individuals as Andrew Jackson and James K. Polk attained sufficient prominence to have national agencies develop an interest in preserving their papers for us. We can be glad that the family of such a man as John Coffee deliberately saved his papers for a biographer whom they failed to find, even though they later divided them between the Tennessee Historical Society and the Alabama State Archives. And we should be eternally grateful to Lyman Draper for taking as much as he did of the documentary material for early Tennessee history to Wisconsin, where it has been saved from the fate which overtook so much other Tennessee material. But for each collection which has thus been fortuitously preserved we can think of at least a score of others that might have been similarly saved if the state itself had been awake to its own best interests, to say nothing of its responsibility to posterity.

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[4]*Ibid.*, 206-207. These statements were quoted by Sioussat from R. A. Halley, "The Preservation of Tennessee History," in *American Historical Magazine*, VIII (1903), 49-63.

While the Sioussat report of 1906 presented a drab picture of the failures of the past, it also expressed a belief that "the awakened public and legislative interest augurs well for greater success in the future."[5] Looking back from the perspective of 1943, however, we are forced to wonder if that so-called awakened interest of a third of a century ago was not more hope than reality. Although a few individuals, and occasionally an organization, continued to urge that something be done, the legislature, feeling no spur of public sentiment on the question, repeatedly neglected to provide the material means necessary for an intelligent and progressive state program. One ostentatious gesture was made, to be sure, in the erection of the War Memorial Building, theoretically as an archival annex to the capitol; but the lack of proper planning, together with the intrusion of political considerations, rendered it hopelessly inadequate for its original purpose long before it was completed. As a result, the state library, the state archives, and the state historical society are still housed in quarters of which the state itself ought to be ashamed, and are trying to operate on funds which are not even sufficient to meet current needs.

Under such circumstances it would be unreasonable to expect any marked improvement in either the condition or the completeness of the official records of the state; nor could we expect the possessors of personal collections to become enthusiastic about depositing their papers in archives which are not even able to give proper care to the official materials already in their possession. The last third of a century has therefore seen a continuation of the earlier tendencies toward destruction or dispersion of valuable collections. For want of both financial and physical facilities within the state, we have seen such collections as the Donelson Papers go to Washington and the Campbell Papers to Duke University. We have been forced to watch helplessly while agents of the University of North Carolina, the University of Kentucky, and Louisiana State University carried away invaluable materials on Tennessee plantation operations and business enterprise. We have seen important collections of papers perish in flames, and have learned too late of others deliberately destroyed by their owners because of failure to realize their value to the historian. And this catalog need not be confined to personal collections. Several years ago, for example, the Federal Census Bureau undertook to solve its problem of space by offering to return to each state the manuscript census schedules for that state through the census of 1870. Most

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[5]Sioussat, "Preliminary Report upon the Archives of Tennessee," in *loc. cit.*, 208 (footnote).

of the states accepted with alacrity, but so far as the records show, not even a reply was received from the state of Tennessee, and after waiting a reasonable time the Tennessee schedules were turned over to Duke University for the cost of packing and transportation.

Although this survey seems to show that Tennessee has never seriously concerned itself with the collection and preservation of the materials upon which its history has to be based, it would be unjust to leave the impression that the record is altogether black. Credit must be given to the men who by struggling to maintain the Tennessee Historical Society through years of adversity and indifference made an appreciable beginning in the collection of both official and personal papers. In more recent years the East Tennessee Historical Society has kept the spark alive, and the development of its manuscript collection in Knoxville has shown what can be done. Much has been accomplished, also, through the work of the Tennessee Historical Records Survey in examining and describing the county archives, and not the least of its contributions has been the creation of what might be called an archives consciousness among the county officials of the state. And finally, the recent revival of the Tennessee Historical Commission under the enlightened leadership of Judge Samuel C. Williams offers grounds for the hope that we are at last on the threshold of an effective program of historical activity in Tennessee, in which collection, preservation, and use of the materials will each receive the attention which it deserves.

Turning now from the basic problem of the collection and preservation of the records to a consideration of what has actually been written, we find that the literature of Tennessee history may be classified into three broad groups. The first of these groups consists of general histories of the state, and would include such older works as those of John Haywood and James G. M. Ramsey, which were general at the time of their publication although they deal only with what we now call the early history of the state. This might also be said of James Phelan's *History of Tennessee*, which does not get past the Civil War. In more recent years we have seen the appearance of what might seem to be an over-supply of general histories of the state, but closer examination of these works reveals the fact that they are always combined with subscription biographies and that the historical side is usually done rather superficially. While there is an abundance of facts, names, and dates, there is a woeful lack of critical scholarship and judgment in such works, and it is perhaps proper to suggest that their chief

contribution is to be found in the fact that they constitute a monument to the gullibility of the people of the state.

A second class of books on Tennessee consists of the numerous biographies of a few outstanding figures. Andrew Jackson has, of course, received most of the attention, and we now have between forty and fifty biographies of this particular hero. Andrew Johnson probably ranks next in the list with at least six biographies and a seventh reported as in progress. James K. Polk has also received considerable attention. But these men belong primarily to the national scene, and Tennessee's part is largely incidental; and the same should be said of the recent biography of Felix Grundy by Joseph H. Parks. Among the men whose work belongs largely to the state, only John Sevier has received anything like adequate consideration, although E. Merton Coulter's *Parson Brownlow,* Wendell H. Stephenson's *Isaac Franklin,* and John E. Windrow's *John Berrien Lindsley* are important contributions on widely varying sets of interests. Unfortunately, this enumeration almost exhausts the list, except for the brief studies of numerous individuals which have appeared as articles.

The third group of historical works might be designated as specialized studies. These are works which deal with some particular period or movement in the history of the state without attempting to indicate the whole development, and which correspond in general, therefore, to the third broad phase of American historiography indicated above. Under this category the works of Judge Williams on the early period are outstanding contributions. Thomas P. Abernethy's *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee* is a thought-provoking treatment of the early nineteenth century development which raises more questions than it answers. Stanley J. Folmsbee's *Sectionalism and Internal Improvements in Tennessee* and Blanche H. Clark's *Tennessee Yeomen* are significant contributions toward a better understanding of economic and social factors in the development of the state. Other aspects of social and cultural interests are presented in Gerald M. Capers' *Memphis; Biography of a River Town* and F. Garvin Davenport's *Cultural Life in Nashville on the Eve of the Civil War.* Several good studies of Tennessee in the Civil War and reconstruction period are available, and Daniel M. Robison's *Bob Taylor and the Agrarian Revolt in Tennessee* proves the possibility of making scholarly studies of more recent phases of the state's history.

The mere enumeration of this list indicates a rather definite emphasis in the minds of those who have worked in the history of the state. In the first place, only outstanding individuals have re-

ceived careful attention, and in the second place, only the more dramatic periods or obviously significant interests have been covered. In other words, an enormous amount of careful and scholarly research remains to be done before we can hope to put together an adequate history of Tennessee as a whole. Among the general needs, the following might be mentioned as of fundamental importance:

(1) We need to develop a better understanding of the basis for the political interests and activities of the people of the state.
(2) Part of this basis must be found in a thorough study of the economic and social development; which means that the life of the people themselves must be studied.
(3) A more careful study of many prominent individuals in various fields of interest is essential.
(4) More attention must be given to the study of local history; that is, to the development of county, town, and community life.

Perhaps these needs should be considered in reverse order, beginning with local history. The importance of local history lies in the fact that each community is part of a larger unit, which is, in turn, a part of the state, and these parts must be understood before we can hope to understand the state as a whole. It is precisely on this point that the average individual who lacks ready access to large libraries or depositories can make an extremely important contribution. It should be possible to study county records, local newspapers, and even private collections of family papers with a view to obtaining information concerning the origin and development of any community or town. Such records should show land titles, property valuations, court proceedings, and economic conditions in general, while newspapers and private papers should give an insight into the social and economic activities of the region. It is surprising, for example, to see how much economic history can be gleaned merely by studying the advertisements in the weekly newspapers of a hundred years ago, or how much social history is hidden away in hundreds of wills now on file in the county courthouses. If a few intelligent individuals in each county would assume the responsibility of examining such records and of putting together accounts based on those records, the benefits to the development of the history of the state would be incalculable.

Almost inevitably, such study would bring to light the outstanding individuals of a community or region for whom brief biographical sketches should be written. Sometimes such individuals belong to more than one region, and thus, gradually, it should be possible to determine upon numerous leaders who deserve more serious at-

tention at the hand of the historian. It has already been suggested that many such individuals have been unduly neglected because of the emphasis given to the study of Tennesseans of national importance. In addition to those whose biographies have been written, one could name at least a dozen other Tennesseans whose contributions to Tennessee itself deserve book-length studies. Such men as William Blount, Hugh Lawson White, William Carroll, John Bell, John Catron, Isham G. Harris, and James D. Porter immediately come to mind; and any one of you could easily double the length of the list. But if we stop to analyze this list, we find that the emphasis is clearly political. Can it be possible that no man has been able to stand out in the minds of the people of this state unless he has been an active participant in political life? Has Tennessee produced or developed no leaders in such fields as education, religion, science, architecture, journalism, agriculture, or industry? It seems clear that here is an important gap that needs to be filled through careful study.

It is probable that such study would lead into a consideration of the economic and social development of the state. Think of how little definite information we have about the sources and composition of the early population of the state, or about population structure and distribution within the state at any given time. What do we know about actual living conditions in Tennessee during the first hundred years of its existence? How many studies have been made of such problems as means of communication, transportation, travel, agricultural activity, or industrial interests? Is there an economic and social basis for the continued emphasis on three geographic sub-divisions of the state? There is clearly a place for much careful study of the whole problem of sectional interests and activities within the state itself because of the light which it might throw upon the larger sectional conflicts in the country as a whole.

These considerations lead back naturally to that phase of the history of the state which has received the greatest emphasis; that is, political interests and activities. But in spite of this emphasis we are still far from an adequate understanding of the basis of those interests. We need to re-examine our political history in the light of economic and social development. For example, was there an economic and social influence behind the growing opposition to Andrew Jackson in the 1830's and 1840's. Has any adequate explanation been given of the fact that Tennessee was in the Whig column in each presidential election from 1836 to 1852, in spite of the fact that a Tennessean was responsible for the nomination of the Democratic candidate in 1836 and another Tennessean was the

Democratic candidate in 1844? What was behind the development in Tennessee of the Know-Nothing party in the 1850's? How can we explain the conflicts within the Democratic party in the state after the Civil War? All these are questions on which further study must be made before an answer can be given.

These suggestions are general in their character, but from them it should be possible to indicate specific problems which are susceptible of being handled with a reasonable amount of work and within a reasonable time. Selecting a dozen such topics, more or less at random, we might consider the following as illustrations of the need for a more thorough study of almost every aspect of the history of the state. It will be seen as we proceed that each topic can in turn be sub-divided into any number of smaller studies, any one of which might be developed into significant contributions for publication as articles; and thus that there is plenty of room for work for those who have the interest, the patience, and the ability to do it.

First on the list should be placed the writing of histories of counties, towns, and communities. Every county in the state is worthy of having its history written, and to single out any particular ones for special mention would be unfair. Many county histories are already available, of course, some of which are exceptionally well done, and one of our first steps should be that of compiling a complete bibliography of the work which has been done in this field. Within each county are towns or communities which also deserve study, and through which new light could be thrown on the history of the state.

Second, we might consider church histories. The need here would include both the local and the general approach. Not only have the activities of such denominations as the Methodists, the Baptists, the Presbyterians, and the Christians of various brands been prominent in the state as a whole, but many individual congregations have also played significant roles in their own communities. All these need to be studied before we can understand the spiritual factors in Tennessee's development. Many of the ministers who played leading parts should also be given special attention for articles at least, if not for extended biographies. In addition to such men as Francis Asbury and Peter Cartwright we need to know more about Gideon Blackburn, Finis Ewing, Robert B. C. Howell, James R. Graves, Jesse B. Ferguson, William McKendree, and Holland N. McTyeire, to name only a few. The simple fact that the careers of some of these were loaded with the dynamite of controversy makes it all the more necessary that they be studied objectively by the historian.

Third, there is need for histories of the various academies, colleges, and universities of the state. A recent investigation shows that charters have been granted to about thirteen hundred degree-awarding institutions in Tennessee, and many of those which are now defunct must have had an interesting and important history. Each one of the large number still in existence also has a history, which should be written from without rather than within its own circle. Here, as in the case of the churches, many leading educators should receive special study.

Fourth, the study of journalism in Tennessee has hardly been touched by the historian. If it is true that the newspaper serves as the revealing diary of the people of its community,[6] we need to know far more than we now do about the factors which determined the establishment, the policies, and the permanence of those papers published in the various parts of the state. The fact that in Nashville alone more than thirty different newspapers were started during the first fifty years of the last century, and that in 1850 that town of some eight thousand inhabitants was supporting four dailies and one tri-weekly paper, indicates the size of the task to be done. We need special studies on the more important papers throughout the state, as well as of many of the editors and publishers; and there is also a wide-open field for anyone interested in pamphleteering activities, or in the publication of literary and scientific journals in the state before the Civil War.

This last suggestion leads to a fifth topic which, for want of a more exact term, we might call general manifestations of cultural development. As Tennessee emerged from frontier conditions to take on the characteristics of a stable society, its people must have become interested in literature, art, music, the theatre, and genteel living; yet we have almost no satisfactory studies of the development of these interests in any part of the state. What were the people reading? What plays and actors were available to them? Did Ralph E. W. Earl's artistic enterprise extend beyond the painting of portraits for President Jackson? Were there other artists whose work deserves attention? We need to know more about such men as Wilkins Tannehill, who found it possible to write and publish in Nashville of the 1820's a general history of literature, and William Strickland, whose building of the capitol was only one of many contributions made by him toward a new architectural age for Nashville. There must have been something more than an intangible

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[6]This statement was made by Edgar E. Robinson in an address before the American Historical Association at Chattanooga in 1935. See *American Historical Review*, XLI (1935-1936), 441.

influence at work in the state in the middle decades of the nineteenth century to make possible the outstanding scientific contributions of such Tennesseans as Gerard Troost, Augustine Gattinger, William Ferrel, Matthew F. Maury, and Edward E. Barnard; or the remarkable work of Paul F. Eve in medicine and surgery; or the literary efforts of Virginia French; or the historical writings of Haywood and Ramsey and the founding of the Tennessee Historical Society; but until we have delved deeper into the cultural interests of that period we cannot expect to find the answer.

Closely connected with this question of cultural interests is a sixth topic on which there is still much work to be done. To what extent was Tennessee affected by the humanitarian reform movement which swept over the United States in the period before the Civil War? Some attention has been given to the development of an anti-slavery sentiment in some parts of the state, but this was only one manifestation of the spirit of the times in which, as James Russell Lowell expressed it, "all stood ready at a moment's notice to reform everything but themselves."[7] We need to know more about our own efforts to work out plans for social betterment through reform of the penal code, the establishment of the penitentiary system and of institutions for the less fortunate element of our society, the temperance movement, the woman's rights movement, and such experiments as Fanny Wright's Nashoba community, in order that we may see more clearly the degree to which the state actually fitted into the broader national pattern.

Our next topic might well be that of constitutional adjustment in Tennessee. We know, of course, that the state has had only three constitutions in the century and a half since its admission; but do we understand why it has apparently been less willing than most of the other states to change its fundamental law? In general, the average state constitution usually represents the summing up of the experiences of the past into an instrument which is then to be imposed upon the future, just as though no more change will take place; and because it usually touches the every day interests of the people more directly than does the national instrument, it would seem that periodic amendment or revision might be more necessary. In this connection, we need to study the making of the constitution of 1834 as an attempt to sum up the transition from frontier to more stable conditions by making adjustments in the judiciary, the tax system, the apportionment of representation, and similar problems or institutions; and the same kind of study should be made of the factors

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[7]Essay on Thoreau, quoted in Arthur M. Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History* (New York, 1922), 215.

which influenced the framing of our present constitution. We need, also, to give more attention to the work of the courts in applying and interpreting these documents and the laws of the state. Judge Williams and Judge John W. Green are already performing a valuable service in bringing to light new information on the personnel of these courts, and it is to be hoped that their work may be extended to include a consideration of the opinions and decisions rendered by them.

Turning next to a group of problems of a somewhat different type, an eighth topic on which there is still much work to be done might be designated as the study of population structure and distribution within the state. Although some suggestive work has been done on the sources of Tennessee's population, its dependence on the printed census reports raises a question as to its adequacy, in view of the vast amount of additional data contained in the manuscript schedules. But in addition to such information as we have on where the early immigrants into Tennessee came from and how they got here, we need to study the process by which this population gradually spread over the state. Were there definite streams of migration from one section to another? Were the shifts made through group action or through individual movements? To what extent did the settlers of new regions reflect diversity of background? These are only a few of the questions for which answers may be found through a study of the unpublished census material; and until such studies have been made we shall continue to do a certain amount of guessing on the broad problem of relationship between background and environment as determining forces in the state's development.

These same unpublished census schedules also contain a wealth of detailed information upon which to base a more intensive study of agricultural and industrial interests and activities within the state. Miss Clark's *Tennessee Yeomen* is the result of pioneer work in the use of this material for a study of the non-slaveholding farmer immediately preceding the Civil War, and an article by Chase C. Mooney in the September, 1942, number of the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* does the same thing for the slaveowner of the same period. This method of approach needs to be applied in studies of the agricultural population for other periods, and through it we should arrive much nearer than has hitherto been possible to a definitive treatment of the basic economic interest of the state. Through these records a similar study can also be made of the part played by industrial activities in Tennessee. We know something of the early iron industry, but only the barest beginning has been

made in the study of other manufacturing and milling enterprises of the ante-bellum period, while the whole question of industrial development since the Civil War remains practically untouched by the historian.

In suggesting internal improvements as the next field in which further work is needed, we must recognize the fact that Folmsbee's *Sectionalism and Internal Improvements in Tennessee* has made a significant contribution on the economic and political factors involved in the development of an internal improvements program down to about 1840. There is still much to be done, however, in the study of local as distinguished from general projects. For example, almost every community centered its immediate interest on the improvement of a particular stream, or the building of a particular road, or the promotion of a local turnpike company, and for each of these communities the question of whether East Tennessee was entitled to as much as West Tennessee, or whether the state or the national government should sponsor the program was likely to be of secondary importance. If we could reconstruct enough of those local projects to establish a composite picture of the whole set of interests we might have a better basis for understanding the attitude of legislators and administrators toward the broader questions of policy. Both the local and the general studies remain to be made for the later period, except for numerous articles on railroad building which still leave important gaps to be filled.

The eleventh topic, centered on the need for a more adequate examination of the problem of sectionalism within the state, may be passed over quickly, inasmuch as it is involved to some extent in each of those which have already been suggested. It is possible that when the other studies have been made we shall be in a better position to restate this broader problem in terms of its geographic, historical, economic, and political bases, and that we may also understand more clearly the development of conflict between the rural and urban interests of more recent years.

And finally, we might turn to a topic which should help to put Tennessee back into a larger setting; namely, the part played by this state in the development of newer regions. We know, of course, that population was moving westward during the first half of the nineteenth century, but it is doubtful whether we realize the extent of the contribution made by our own state in that westward movement. The census of 1850 shows, for example, that approximately 580,000 natives of Tennessee were still living in the state, but that more than 215,000 natives of Tennessee were living in newer states farther west; and it should be remembered that this

figure does not include the natives of other states who had grown to maturity in Tennessee and then moved on. It is interesting to note that approximately one tenth of the total population of each of the three states of Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas in 1850 were former Tennesseans. Or if we look at the state's contribution in the leadership of these new communities, we find that Tennesseans served as the first territorial governors of Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida; that two of the first three United States senators from Alabama were former Tennesseans; that both of the first senators from Missouri had moved to that state from Tennessee; that on the admission of Arkansas to statehood its governor, both of its senators, and its representative in the lower house of Congress were former Tennesseans; that a former governor of Tennessee played a leading role in establishing the independence of Texas; that the first governor and one of the first senators from California were Tennesseans; and that the first delegate in Congress from the newly-organized Washington Territory was from Tennessee. Considered merely from the point of view of personnel, this is an imposing record; but can we be sure that it tells the whole story? One would like to know, also, to what extent these leaders impressed Tennessee habits of thought, customs, and traditions upon their new constituencies. It might be revealing to study the influence of the Tennessee constitution and laws upon constitution-making and legislation in newer states, or to examine the development there of political practices, both good and bad, based on earlier experience in Tennessee campaigns.

While this list of topics by no means exhausts the possibilities, it is sufficient to indicate that until such problems as these have received careful study it will be impossible to work out a satisfactory general history of the state. This means that we must continue to think in terms of the particular rather than the general for several years. But if each of us can make some contribution in the form of a study and interpretation of some phase of the history of our state, we may also have the satisfaction of knowing that we are contributing a small fragment which may later be used by a master historian to complete the final picture—that is, a sound, scholarly, and critical explanation or interpretation of the history of Tennessee.

ANDREW JACKSON: PLANTER

By Arda Walker

Few Americans have had more written about them than the picturesque seventh president, Andrew Jackson. Professional and amateur historians, fiction writers, political writers and plain people have turned to pen and print to explain, praise, glorify, or condemn the man. In spite of all that has been written, certain phases of Andrew Jackson's thinking and certain activities in which he was greatly interested have not been completely presented.

Andrew Jackson was a planter, a statesman, a soldier, a lawyer, a businessman, and a politician, but first of all he was a planter. In all of his many-sided life, his interest as a planter was the only one to last throughout. This interest began with his arrival in Tennessee and continued until his death fifty-eight years later. His plantation life was varied but it centered at his beloved home, the Hermitage and the plantation surrounding it. His correspondence is replete with instructions, inquiries, comments and statements of his concern about his estate. Throughout his political life and his life as a soldier, he longed to return to the Hermitage. In 1827 he wrote that if he was out of public life, "it would take a writ of *habeas corpus*"[1] to draw him in again. Echoing the views of his predecessor, Thomas Jefferson, he proclaimed in his third presidential message, "Agriculture is the first and most important occupation of man."[2] His life as a lawyer, soldier, and governor of the Florida Territory was merely a means to an end, and that end was a professed ambition to be the leading planter and stock breeder in Tennessee. From the time he bought his first ten acres at Hunter's Hill until his death, his "greatest delight was to pilot some visitor around his plantation."[3]

The traditional picture of Jackson is not one of a man whose first interest was agriculture; nevertheless, being a planter was of the highest importance to Jackson. It does not mean that he made his greatest success in this field. As one of his biographers has ex-

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[1]Jackson to John Coffee, January 23, 1828, J. S. Bassett (ed.), *The Correspondenee of Andrew Jackson* (Washington, 1926-1936), III, 274. Hereinafter this work will be cited as *Correspondence.*

[2]J. D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Washington, 1903), II, 545.

[3]A. C. Buell, *History of Andrew Jackson* (New York, 1904), I, 126-27.

pressed it, "He did not make as brilliant a success in farming as some of his neighbors. He lived in too high a manner for that . . . . A more thrifty man would have made more money, but he would not have supported so high a place among his acquaintances."[4] Jackson's necessary absence from home so much of his time led to waste on the part of overseers. His adopted son and wards were not always as thrifty as they might have been, and improvident cotton factors caused Jackson endless losses. Jackson was not always the man of quick and decisive action in his agricultural activities that he seems to have been in his military and political life. Sometimes he failed to follow his protests to overseers, son, wards, and neighbors with decisive "Jacksonian" action.

At one time or another, Jackson owned four plantations, if one is to include Hunter's Hill, which was more of a business adventure than it was an agricultural undertaking. The plantation at Hunter's Hill he was forced to sell in 1805 because of unfavorable business activity, but later during prosperous years he again purchased it and retained it until 1841.[5] He purchased the Hermitage, which varied in acreage from time to time, in the spring of 1804, and this estate became his home for the remainder of his life.[6]

In 1819 he purchased a farm near the forks of the Cypress, ten miles north of Florence, Alabama. It was this estate that James G. Birney proposed to work jointly with Jackson in 1821.[7] This estate proved to be a burden to Jackson. His Negroes ran away; he was unable to secure good overseers; and the land was unproductive. In 1822 he sold that part of the farm that had improvements and not long afterward sold the remainder of the land.[8]

In 1837 Jackson owned only the land on which he lived, the Hermitage, of 940 acres, and an 840 acre tract in the Western District.[9] After 1840 Jackson found himself heavily burdened with debt, a debt that was in reality not Jackson's but Andrew Jackson Jr.'s which was incurred through the boy's purchase of Halcyon, a Mississippi plantation. The senior Jackson strongly advised against this transaction, but when his adopted son unwisely disregarded his advice the old man financed the purchase. This became Jackson's fourth plantation, since he was the real purchaser and owner.

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[4]Bassett, *Correspondence*, I, vi.
[5]*Ibid.*, 101 n; Jackson to Andrew Donelson, February 9, 1840, *ibid.*, VI, 53.
[6]Jackson and Hutchings to Boggs and Davidson, July 31, 1804, *ibid.*, I, 101.
[7]James Jackson to Jackson, May 28, 1821, *ibid.*, III, 61.
[8]*Ibid.*, 166 n.
[9]Jackson to F. P. Blair, May 11, 1837, *ibid.*, V, 481. Buell states that at this time he owned 2,600 acres and 137 Negroes. A. C. Buell, *op. cit.*, II, 369.

The Mississippi plantation, Halcyon, proved to be a "white elephant" as Jackson had feared. The Mississippi River flooded the plantation yearly, and the freshets destroyed all hope of profit. In 1844 his overseer, J. M. Parker, wrote that water covered the plantation from one to six feet and that he had been over the entire plantation in a canoe. Fences were all down. He had built a raft for the hogs, but it was loosed from its moorings, so all the hogs were lost. The horses and mules were at the point of death, while the cattle had escaped into the canebrakes where they too were dying. Floods of this kind were annual events. Finally, in 1845, over his adopted son's protests, he wrote W. B. Lewis that he was determined to sell the 2,900 acre plantation. He described it as having four hundred acres of cleared land under cultivation, one hundred acres in pasture, the rest in timber, and with one and a half miles of levees.[10]

This decision to sell the plantation did not save Jackson from financial embarrassment. He had already found it necessary in 1842 to mortgage 1,180 acres and thirty Negroes. This was the first mortgage that he ever gave.[11] Three years later by an additional mortgage to F. P. Blair and John C. Rives on 1,700 acres, his entire estate was given as security for the debt of his adopted son.[12] These figures give one an idea of the extent of his holdings at the latter part of his life. His greatest desire at this time seems to have been that of saving the Hermitage for his grandchildren, but despite his heroic efforts, the debts accumulated by Andred Jackson Jr., necessitated the selling of the Hermitage under the hammer only ten years after the builder's death.

Economy, self-sufficiency, and freedom from debt were the keynotes of his agrarian philosophy—a philosophy which he was often unable to make practicable when confronted with plantation problems. Problems on the Jackson plantation during the first four decades of the nineteenth century were in reality problems which moved the nation toward the "irrepressible conflict." Jackson's plantation life gives a picture of large slave-holding estates of this period.

Away from home a great deal of the time, Jackson often sent instructions regarding the culture of his cotton crops: where they were to be planted, what replanting was to be done, and when to plow. From the fifteenth to the twenty-fifth of April was the cot-

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[10]J. M. Parker to Jackson, August 2, 1844, *Correspondence,* 308-09; Jackson to W. B. Lewis, February 12, 1845, *ibid.,* 368.

[11]Jackson to W. B. Lewis, February 28, 1842, *ibid.,* VI, 141; Jackson to W. B. Lewis, September 30, 1841, *ibid.,* 126.

[12]Jackson to W. B. Lewis, March 3, 1845, *ibid.,* 378.

ton-planting time.[13] At the Hermitage anywhere from 120 to 200 acres of this staple were raised.[14] Jackson insisted upon careful plowing, asking that it be deep and that the ground be harrowed afterwards, for he felt that if one plowed "better and cultivate[d] less," he would "produce more."[15] The cotton was "hilled up," planted, and then thinned, if necessary.[16] It received the primary attention of the plantation workers. If there was too much work to be done, Jackson ordered that the overseers should "pay attention to keeping the cotton cleared and let the corn go until afterwards."[17] Jackson gave the cotton sometimes as many as eight plowings in a season. It began to bloom, depending upon the year, somewhere between the twentieth of June and the twentieth of July.[18] Frequently late frosts, rains, and drouths meant considerable loss to the cotton crop. In 1834 a frost of April 28 destroyed almost all the cotton in Tennessee. At this time Jackson displayed ingenuity and resourcefulness when he instructed his overseer to run a coulter along side of the cotton and replant the whole. In this way he could keep all the first planting that escaped the frost and also have the second planting. Ten years later he lost about half of his crop in a late frost.[19] The late frosts of Middle Tennessee were a great hazard to the growing of cotton. Jackson realized this and in 1836 advised his overseer to change his culture in part from cotton to hemp and tobacco and to turn his attention to stock, as he was convinced from the change in the seasons that "We must not depend upon the cotton crop entirely, for a suppor[t]."[20]

Although greatly interested in the planting and growth of the crop, it was in its marketing that Jackson was chiefly concerned. This had to be done largely through factors, some of whom were careless and some of whom were dishonest. In 1808 Jackson himself had been a cotton inspector and therefore, presumably, knew now to differentiate between good and poor cotton,[21] but poor overseers, a careless adopted son, and careless or dishonest factors often permitted improper handling of his crops. From 1803 to 1807 a firm named Meeker, Williamson, and Patton handled Jackson's cotton. In the latter year the firm did not give account of the

[13]Jackson to Mrs. Jackson, March 22, 1803, *ibid.*, I, 65.
[14]Jackson to John Coffee, December 22, 1827, *ibid.*, III, 385; Lewis to Jackson, April 21, 1833, *ibid.*, V, 42.
[15]Jackson to Andrew Jackson Jr., August 23, 1836, *ibid.*, V, 423.
[16]Jackson to John Coffee, June 7, 1825, *ibid.*, III, 286.
[17]Jackson to Andrew Jackson Jr., May 1, 1835, *ibid.*, V, 343.
[18]Jackson to John Coffee, July 9, 1825, *ibid.*, III, 288.
[19]Jackson to F. P. Blair, February 24, 1844, *ibid.*, VI, 266; Jackson to Andrew Jackson Jr., May 16, 1834, *ibid.*, V, 266.
[20]Jackson to Andrew Jackson Jr., September 22, 1836, *ibid.*, V, 426-27.
[21]*Ibid.*, I, 190.

amount of sales of the cotton and of the sales consigned to them the previous year, although Jackson had repeatedly asked for the same. He threatened to expose them to the public. Writing on one occasion, he said, "We have no wish to do any person an injury not even those whose conduct towards us has put it in our power, and who merit exposure, all we want is Justice, that we claim we will have . . . ."[22] He finally found a satisfactory cotton factor in Maunsel White, who handled his cotton until the General's death in 1845.

Unwise action and carlessness on the part of his adopted son, wards, and overseers often took the profit out of his cotton sales. Writing to Andrew Jackson Jr. in 1834, he said: "When you calculate the amount of rope and baleing used by you this year for about 38,000 lb. of cotton you will find, that when I was at home, I sent to markett fifty thousand pounds of cotton at the same expence you have thirty-eight. This my son is bad oeconomy, and by your own attention hereafter you ought to correct it."[23] In the same year a letter to this boy indicated the carelessness with which Andrew Jr. handled accounts: "you ought to have entered on your cotton Book the nos. marks and weights on every Bale of cotton as you weighed and marked them . . . . You write me that sixty three Bales were shipped. you had written me before that you had sixty four bales ready which would be shipped. . . ." [24] Jackson then advised his son to commit every contract he made, large or small, to writing *"in futuro."*[25] In one letter he repeated this admonition seven times. Jackson himself preserved meticulously bundles of "receipts, orders, stubs of checks elaborately ticketed and filed."[26] Lists of purchases often contained such minutiae as screws, twine, cord, bunches of beads, papers of pins, and the like.

In 1804 the crop was shipped to Liverpool. This consignment of cotton "shipped in the brig Dean marked with our [Jackson's] mark, has sold at 15d. sterling," but it netted not more than twelve cents a pound. Jackson remarked, "[This] ought to deter a future shipment to that port—however it is done with 100 bales this spring . . . ."[27] Almost forty years later his cotton was again shipped to England and sold for the same price it would have brought at New

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[22]Jackson and Hutchings to Williamson, Meeker and Patton, April 29, 1807, *ibid.*, 180.

[23]Jackson to Andrew Jackson Jr., April 27, 1834, *ibid.*, 263.

[24]Jackson to Andrew Jackson Jr., March 26, 1834, *ibid.*, V, 256.

[25]Jackson to Andrew Jackson Jr., February 16, 1834, *ibid.*, 249; also Jackson to Andrew Jackson Jr., March 16, 1834, *ibid.*, 254.

[26]F. J. Klingberg and Andrew Jackson IV, "Personal Traits of President Andrew Jackson," *Historical Outlook*, XIV (January, 1923), 136-37.

[27]Jackson to John Coffee, June 21, 1804, *Correspondence*, I, 95-96.

Orleans, even though there were the additional costs of freight, insurance, commissions, and the loss of 3,000 pounds in weight.[28] Careless packing often meant loss. In 1826 Maunsel White sent some samples to Jackson to show him "the necessity of your Overseers being more particular in picking and Cleaning your cotton." The samples came from John Coffee's crop, and "the best" of Jackson's crop that year, according to White, "was no way equal to coffees and the only redeeming feature in your [Jackson's] was goodness of staple and Colour." It was carelessly packed and as a result had an incrustation of from one to two inches around many bales.[29] This carelessness occurred when Jackson was in Washington. Again, in 1830, White wrote that the cotton was not as good as usual and assigned as the reason, Jackson's absence from home.[30]

Jackson's crop was not always so poorly handled, however. In 1831 the cotton arrived in "beautiful order." White cut seven bales indiscriminately and found it "without blemish and the quality pronounced good."[31] The following year, 1832, his cotton was reported in New Orleans to have been the best that had ever reached the market there from Tennessee.[32]

The complete reports of Jackson's crops are not extant, but the following table,[33] while by no means complete, will furnish some idea of the size of his crops and the prices they brought.

Year	No. of bales	Pounds	Price per lb.	Net income
1823	55			$2208.70
1824	51		.13½	
	10*		.30	
1825	71		.15	
1826	62		.12	
	9		.10	$3477.51
1827			.09	$3062.55
1829	51	27,056	.08¼	$2246.39
1830	59		.10	$2267.04
1831			.11½	$1097.09
1834	101	37,875	.11¼	$4375.71
1836	90-100?		.15	
1837	74		.10½	
1839			.08-.09	
1840	32 (incomplete)		.08-.09	$1172.17
1843	132			$3268.88
1845		37,000	.04½	$1312.00

*At this time Jackson changed houses, which may account in part part for the great difference in prices.

[28]Jackson to F. P. Blair, November 22, 1843, *ibid.*, VI, 243.
[29]Maunsel White to Jackson, March 22, 1826, *ibid.*, III, 298.
[30]Maunsel White to Jackson, January 29, 1831, *ibid.*, 228.
[31]*Niles' Register*, LXII (March 31, 1832), 83.
[32]Maunsel White to Jackson, May 14, 1830, *ibid.*, IV, 137.
[33]These figures were taken from *Correspondence*, Vols. III through VI, *passim*. They are as complete as the writer was able to make them.

From this table it is seen that Jackson raised from fifty to one hundred and thirty-two bales per year and received anywhere from $1,312 to $4,375 net proceeds. Marketing expenses were very high. Freight was $3 a bale from Nashville and $1 a bale from the Halcyon to New Orleans. In 1840 drayage was 35¢ a bale. Fire and river insurance from Nashville was 60¢, the weighing fee, 10¢, and commissions, 2½%.[34]

It must not be thought that Jackson was a one-crop planter. In his correspondence, nineteen different crops are named, many of them by their species. In addition, he raised at least seven kinds of livestock, had a mill on his farm, owned two cotton gins, made his own brick, and ran a sawmill. His great aim was to make his plantation self-sufficient. In keeping with this aim, when he learned that his overseer, Burnard W. Holtzclaw, had only eight-six "hoggs" to kill, he inquired, "What has become of them? there has been more corn fed to them than would buy more Pork than the 86 will make. . . ."[35] He later wrote, "Better sell the corn and buy the Pork than raise it for our neighbors negroes. . . ."[36] An overseer on his Mississippi plantation did not raise enough corn to feed his hogs. "I regret," Jackson wrote, "to see that your supply of corn is nearly out. . . . It is bad oeconomy not to raise corn enough. when you have no corn your hoggs will go wild, and to raise cotton to buy corn and pork with is bad economy."[37]

In 1833 he was mortified on his return to the Hermitage to find no fowls or poultry for the use of the plantation. Old Hannah, who was in charge of the poultry, said that her chickens and turkeys had died very much with the gapes, and there were only twelve turkey hens and four gobblers left. To Jackson, who believed deeply in the self-sufficiency of the farm, this was little short of criminal negligence. In 1834, when he discovered that Andrew Jackson Jr. was without seed wheat, he wrote, "never be without seed raised on your own farm of every thing you cultivate, it is a wretched mode of farming that shews careless management whereever it happens."[38]

Next to cotton, corn was probably his most important crop. In 1833 he had 300 acres of corn, as compared with only 200 in cotton.[39] He began planting his corn in March and raised it especially on his new ground.[40] He also planted approximately

[34] *Ibid.*, V, 539, note.
[35] Jackson to Andrew Jackson Jr., November 1, 1833, *ibid.*, V, 222.
[36] Jackson to Andrew Jackson Jr., November 13, 1833, *ibid.*, 225.
[37] Jackson to J. M. Parker, May 11, 1844, *ibid.*, VI, 289.
[38] Jackson to Andrew Jackson Jr., October 30, 1834, *ibid.*, V, 303-04.
[39] W. B. Lewis to Jackson, April 21, 1833, *ibid.*, 64.
[40] Jackson to Andrew Jackson Jr., February 12, 1834, *ibid.*, V, 248.

twenty acres of wheat,[41] and from fifty to a hundred and twenty acres of oats each year.

He used grasses for pasture, cover crops, and improvement of the soil. In 1832 six bushels of red clover seed were ordered from Pittsburgh to plant thirty-two acres. This was to be sown with the oats, to obtain a double crop and improve the land. Two years later he sent four different kinds of grasses to be planted at the Hermitage—Hires grass to be planted in the lot adjoining the woodland pasture, blue grass near and adjoining the "stud's stable," timothy in the lot formerly planted in timothy, and clover "on the land intended to be rested."[42] He bought choice seed, which cost him $82.75 plus the freight. In 1836 he wished the "old pasture south of the mill race sowed down in blue grass and herds grass and wheat this fall so that we may have pasture for colts—I mean as soon as the hemp comes off," and wanted timothy and red clover planted. At this time he protested because he discovered that "all the oats, hemp, and millet had been badly and slovenly sowed."[43]

In 1822 his overseer on the Alabama plantation seeded a large turnip patch, "begging the seed from my acquaintances," he wrote Jackson. He wanted to seed eight or ten acres more if the seed could be procured.[44] Time after time Jackson asked that Irish and sweet potatoes be planted in abundance.[45] The General was also interested in fruit trees. Before he moved to the Hermitage, he planted 500 apple trees and 500 peach trees in the Hermitage orchard.[46]

Naturally, such extensive production required much cultivation. In 1833 his overseer at the Hermitage was running seventeen plows and could run nineteen if necessary.[47] A memorandum of his farm products for 1830 reveals the extent of crops other than cotton raised on his plantation. He had 1,276 barrels of cribbed corn, sixty-four stacks of fodder, forty stacks of oats, eleven stacks of rye, 11,709 pounds of pork killed, and forty hogs to kill. His blooded horses numbered twelve; his common horses, mares, and colts amounted to twenty. Eighty-six head of cattle, 123 sheep, and 250 head of hogs, plus the cotton crop of fifty-one bales, completed his inventory for the year.[48]

Jackson took great pride in his livestock, but was not always

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[41]Jackson to Andrew Jackson Jr., October 30, 1834, *ibid.*, 304.
[42]Jackson to Andrew Jackson Jr., October 21, 1834, *ibid.*, 301.
[43]Jackson to Andrew Jackson Jr., August 23, 1836, *ibid.*, 423.
[44]Egbert Harris to Jackson, July 27, 1822, *ibid.*, III, 172.
[45]Jackson to Andrew Jackson Jr., November 15, 1834, *ibid.*, V, 308, *par ex.*
[46]Jackson to Mrs. Jackson, March 22, 1803, *ibid.*, I, 65; *ibid.*, 104 n.
[47]W. B. Lewis to Jackson, April 21, 1833, *ibid.*, IV, 63.
[48]*Ibid.*, IV, 120.

the ideal stock-breeder. For example, he often was ignorant as to when colts were to arrive. In 1828 he inquired of Reverend Hardy M. Cryer when his mares were bred. He knew all were in foal but didn't know when any "Coalts" were to arrive.[49] The old general always loved horses and spent a great deal of his energy in securing fine breeding horses. In 1828, however, after a streak of bad luck in which he lost during eighteen months $3,000 worth of horses, he abandoned the breeding of horses and turned his attention to mules.[50] Besides horses and mules, he raised hogs, chickens, turkeys, cattle, oxen and sheep.

Jackson did not hesitate to experiment with new machines and methods. Four years after Whitney invented the cotton gin, Jackson purchased the first gin to be used in the Cumberland Valley. His letters show that he practiced crop rotation.[51] "Anyone who had superior fruit trees, farm implements, or breed of horses found a ready customer in Jackson."[52] He was a subscriber to the *American Farmer,* a leading agricultural magazine of the time.[53] In 1837 he made an experiment with wheat from "Egipt, but either from the unusual dry and cold spring, or that the climate is unfavorable" the production was not good, that season. He made known his intention of trying again by sowing it in the fall; one attempt did not discourage him.[54] He planted from sixty to a hundred acres of oats to turn the hogs into, for he felt that oats straw made the finest manure, "rooted as it always is and burried in the earth" by the hogs.[55] Today good farmers might question this method.

Since his time was an age of superstition in so far as the farmer was concerned, one might be interested to know whether Jackson was superstitious. The only intimation that one finds is in a letter in which he gives an account of the slaughtering of his hogs. He had already slaughtered half and intended to kill the balance on "the change of the moon." This statement may have been merely a way of reckoning time, however.[56]

In his relationship with his neighbors, the General was not always congenial. He was particular about infringement upon his property rights. One of the most bitter recriminations in his correspondence is found in a letter to a Major Gilman in which he

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[49]Jackson to H. M. Cryer, March 22, 1828, *ibid.,* III, 396.
[50]Jackson to H. M. Cryer, March 6, 1828, *ibid.,* 395; Jackson to H. M. Cryer, May 11, 1828, *ibid.,* 402.
[51]Jackson to Andrew Jackson Jr., October 21, 1834, *ibid.,* V, 301.
[52]Buell, *op.cit.,* I, 127.
[53]*Correspondence,* III, 168, 284.
[54]Jackson to Van Buren, August 7, 1838, *ibid.,* V, 504.
[55]Jackson to A. J. Donelson, March 16, 1834, *ibid.,* 256.
[56]Jackson to John Coffee, December 1, 1825, *ibid.,* III, 298.

protested trespasses on his inclosures. He complained that fences had been thrown down, stock let out and "others let in." His scaley bark hickory trees had been cut down in order to secure the nuts.[57] On another occasion, he wrote John Coffee, who was at his Alabama plantation, instructing him not to let a certain Mr. Bell draw a drop of water from the well nor to come within his inclosures.[58] He opposed the cutting of roads indiscriminately across his farm. In 1835 he instructed his son to petition a resurvey of a road, for he wanted only one road crossing his land. "I am now determined to have all roads made permanent," he wrote, "regardless of where they run, for the impositions on us are not only unjust, but intolerable.[59] His letters contain bitter protests "with his neighbors over the placing of gates and injuries given and received by his Negroes."[60] On one occasion, in 1790, he horse-whipped a certain Grayson who molested a slave of his. Always trying to guard against undersirable neighbors, he wrote in 1823, "Mr. F. Sanders having proposed to sell and I [being] fearfull of a bad neighbor I have bought and paid him for his plantation. . . . I am now out of danger of being interrupted by a bad neighbor. . . .[61] That was one way to insure himself against an undesirable man next door.

Perhaps the most important part of a planter's life in the days of Jackson, even if it was routine, was that of getting along with his overseers and slaves. Possibly the most changeable thing about Jackson was his overseers. As for all plantation owners, it was difficult to find a good one, and at times Jackson needed three. When he employed an overseer, he minutely outlined his duties and payments. He exacted elaborate inventories of his own possessions from the overseers. An inventory of 1823 may be taken as an example. A list of his tools and livestock in that year included:

1 Dagon Plough, 5 Singel Ploughs, 2 Double Ploughs, 1 Coulter Plough, 3 pare of Streacher, 1 half inch augur, 1 two inch augur. 1 five quarter augur, 1 Chissel, 1 Crosscut Saw, 3 Scythe and Cr[a]dle, 1 Stone augur, 1 augur and wheel, 1 reamer, 3 Clevises, 1 two rule, 1 foot adds, 7 Single trees, 6 pare of Haymes, 10 axes, 2 mattux, 9 hoes, 1 Ploughhoe, 5 Pare of trases, 1 hansaw, 1 Crowbar, 1 sledge hamer, 1 hand hamer, 1 Pare of wegges, 1 mortisin axe, 1 drawing knife, 2 pare of lockchains, horned cattle 39 head grown, and four oxen, 23 calves, 63 head grown sheep, 115 head of hoggs.[62]

Where even clevises, wedges, augurs and chisels were listed with their specifications in an inventory, there was in all probability a

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[57]Jackson to Major Gilman, October 23, 1841, *ibid.*, VI, 126.
[58]Jackson to John Coffee, August 22, 1823, *ibid.*, III, 294.
[59]Jackson to Andrew Jackson Jr., April 21, 1835, *ibid.*, V, 337.
[60]Klingberg and Jackson, "Personal Traits of President Jackson," *loc. cit.*, 13.
[61]Jackson to John Coffee, October 24, 1823, *Correspondence*, III, 214.
[62]*Ibid.*, III, 182.

considerable effort to include everything of value.

Indeed, there was reason for Jackson to be so meticulous, for there is evidence that many things disappeared from the Hermitage plantation. In the year of 1832 some table linen was missing. Of this Jackson wrote, "there were abundant supply of table linnen etc. etc., when we left the Hermitage, but I suppose it must have gone the same way as the sheets."[63] The reader is not enlightened as to where the sheets went, but he must conclude that some dishonesty prevailed.

In 1813 Jackson employed John Fields for a year, beginning December 25, 1813. Fields was to take charge of the lands and make a "Croop" as Jackson directed and attend to stock and tools, having firewood carried in and fires made as Mrs. Jackson directed. Jackson paid him $200, all in trade but $30, which was paid in cash. He let Fields have a horse worth $100 to use, and if Jackson wished, he could pay $100 and redeem the horse at the end of the year. Jackson was also to see to Fields' eating, lodging, and laundry.[64] Fields drank too much. He abused the horse that was given him and he was a poor manager of the workmen, whom he could not induce to tread out thirty bushels of oats in three days. He was not good at directing the Negro women, so Jackson let him go after a short while, as he did the majority of his overseers.[65]

In 1822 he let an overseer go for lying to him. This overseer had said that he had found the Negroes naked and barefooted, but Jackson claimed this statement was false and was made to form an excuse to raise an account for new shoes. The overseer, moreover, still had his steed at the plantation, contrary to Jackson's orders, and it took a man to care for the horse.[66] Another overseer, "a scoundrel," brought suit against Jackson and lost.[67] Another, a Mr. Phillips, made a debt against the plantation, claiming that he had an account against the estate for axes and other things. Jackson denied this, stating that he never had an account with an overseer. So Phillips was ejected.[68] Another neglected the livestock, a thing which made Jackson determine to deduct from his wages the losses incurred by the death of horses and oxen.[69] This man was also called to account because the "beacon [*sic*] was nearly gone, this to me was unaccountable," he wrote his overseer, "because I

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[63]Jackson to Andrew Jackson Jr., May 24, 1832, *ibid.*, IV, 443.
[64]*Ibid.*, I, 431-32.
[65]Col. Robert Hays to Jackson, December 20, 1814, *ibid.*, II, 121.
[66]Jackson to John Coffee, March 14, 1822, *ibid.*, III, 155.
[67]Jackson to John Coffee, April 3, 1827, *ibid.*, 352-53.
[68]Jackson to John Coffee, December 5, 1827, *ibid.*, 384.
[69]Jackson to Andrew Jackson Jr., September 21, 1829, *ibid.*, IV, 76.

stood by and saw a large Supply as usual for my White and Black family salted in my smoke house. In your Statement I have asked you to forward, I shall expect you to furnish me with an explanation how this has happened."[70]

Other overseers employed the servants in their own domestic concerns. Many instances like these might be enumerated. Poor overseers may account, in part, for Jackson's loss at his plantation, but the situation in which overseers took advantage of their employer was made almost inevitable by Jackson's public life.

From 1788, when Jackson was twenty-one years old and when he purchased his first slave, Jackson was a slaveowner. The bill of sale of a Negro woman to Andrew Jackson by Micajah Crews is extant in the Tennessee archives. This purchase was made a few months after Jackson's coming to Tennessee. Thus the statement often made that Jackson arrived in Tennessee totally without funds is somewhat questionable.[71] A list of his Negroes two years later (1790) included: "Daniel about twenty-eight years old," valued at £ 250; "one wench Kate," thirty-two, valued at £ 150; "one Boy Joe," age eleven, valued at £ 150; "one Boy, Bob," nine, valued at £ 100; "one Boy Pompey," between one and two years old, valued at £ 60, making five slaves in all.[72] In 1812 the number of his slaves had increased to twenty.[73] In 1820, at one time, James Hanna purchased five Negroes for Jackson valued at $2,290.[74] Five years later Jackson's Negro poll amounted to eighty slaves.[75] The highest number of Jackson's slaves approximated two hundred, but by 1842 the number had dwindled to something over one hundred and fifty, which he mortgaged to pay off the debt of his adopted son.[76] Some idea of Jackson's relative position as a Tennessee slaveholder may be gleaned by an examination of the census of 1850. At that time only twenty-four slaveholders in Tennessee held more than one hundred slaves.[77] Since Jackson had owned as many as 200 and shortly before his death still owned 150, he was among the slaveholding aristocracy of the state.

Jackson generally took quite a humane concern for his slaves although, as will be seen, upon occasion he sanctioned and even

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[70]Jackson to G. W. Steele, November 7, 1829, *ibid.*, IV, 85-86.
[71]John Allison, *Dropped Stitches in Tennessee History* (Nashville, 1897), 8.
[72]*Correspondence*, I, 9.
[73]*Ibid.*, 212.
[74]James J. Hanna to Jackson, January 30, 1829, *ibid.*, III, 12.
[75]*Ibid.*, 271.
[76]Jackson to F. P. Blair, February 3, 1842, *ibid.*, VI, 138.
[77]J. D. B. Debow, *A Compendium of the Seventh Census of the United States* (Washington, 1854), 95. The 1840 census was incomplete and figures for individual slaveholders are not given; hence, the 1850 census is used here.

recommended chains and corporal punishment for delinquents. In 1819 he displayed a deep feeling of humanity when he attempted to purchase two Negroes, a son and daughter of Peter, whom he owned. These Negroes were in the possession of James Houston of Maryville, a brother of the non-slaveholding and non-property holding Sam Houston. The only reason given for desiring these slaves was to bring the family together for humanity's sake.[78] In 1829 he again showed himself solicitous for the welfare of his slaves when he requested his son to look into the death of a slave named Jim, to ascertain whether or not his overseer, G. W. Steele, was responsible. If it should prove that he was implicated, Jackson ordered that he should be dismissed. "My negroes shall be treated humanely," he wrote, "When I employed Mr. Steel, I charged him upon this subject and had expressed in our agreement that he was to treat them with great humanity, feed and cloth them well, and work them in moderation. . . ."[79] Steele proved himself innocent of any responsibility in the incident.

Three years later Jackson was forced to reprimand his reprobate ward, Andrew Jackson Hutchings, for mistreating the Negroes. Writing to Coffee, he said that he was sorry that Hutchings had disagreed with his overseer, Steele, and that "he [Hutchings] must not attempt to misuse or whip the negroes—if they misbehave to him, I have directed him to inform Steel, and he will chastise them . . . ."[80] A few years later in the same manner he wrote, "I could not bear the idea of inhumanity to my poor Negroes."[81]

When the Negroes were ill, he showed particular concern about their ailments. In 1840 two of his Negroes were incapacitated by sickness. One of these was cured upon Jackson's having taken him to a physician; the other, whose eyesight was imparied, was a matter of great concern for the ex-President. He wrote, "As John was so valuable and humanity required that everything might be done for him, I though it best that the experiment might be made. . . ."[82] The boy's eyesight was restored. In 1840 as many as "12 [Negroes were] down at once," with sickness.[83] Of course, the economic loss was considerable when so many Negroes became ill.

The punishment of the slaves for misdemeanors was by no means lenient. Here one is reminded of the General's strict dis-

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[78]James Houston to Jackson, September 24, 1819, *Correspondence*, II, 430.
[79]Jackson to Andrew Jackson Jr., July 4, 1829, *ibid.*, IV, 49.
[80]Jackson to John Coffee, May 26, 1831, *ibid.*, 285.
[81]Jackson to A. J. Hutchings, June 2, 1833, *ibid.*, V, 105.
[82]Jackson to A. J. Hutchings, August 3, 1840, *ibid.*, VI, 69.
[83]Jackson to A. J. Hutchings, September 11, 1840, *ibid.*, 77.

cipline of his troops in the army and his merciless courtmartial and execution of the eighteen year old John Woods during the Creek War.[84] The same obduracy persisted in other cases. In 1821, when he heard that Betty, Mrs. Jackson's maid, was impertinent, he wrote, "I have directed that the first impertinence she uses, or the first disobedience of orders, that she will be publicly whipped." He directed his overseer, Blair, to give her fifty lashes and in the event that he failed to do so, he was to be dismissed and a corporal ordered to do the task.[85]

The runaway slave was always a problem of the planter and it was a problem which Jackson had to confront. In 1805 he asked John Hutchings to make strict inquiry for George "should he be gone to sea," but Hutchings was unable to secure any knowledge of his whereabouts.[86] In 1812 a slave named Jessee ran away from the river boat *Natchez* while *en route* to be sold.[87] In 1821 Ned, another slave, ran away while he was in the process of being sold.[88] In 1822, upon having recovered four of his Negroes that had fled, he had two of them put in chains. Concerning this punishment he wrote, "although I hate chains, [I] was compelled to place two of them in irons, for safekeeping."[89] In the same year he told another of his numerous overseers "as far as lenity can be extended to these unfortunate creatures, I wish you to do so."[90]

Jackson's slaves frequently got into difficulty with neighbors. The occasion on which Jackson horse-whipped Grayson for molesting Ephraim has been mentioned. On another occasion, Asen was hired to saw at Severn Donelson's. On his way home, a white man attempted to take him, but Asen cut the man with a knife, whereupon the man shot him with small shot.[91] In 1839 four of Jackson's Negroes were held on trial for killing the slave of Stockley Donelson in a riot. Jackson did all in his power to clear them of this charge. It was rumored that he spent $1,500 in saving the lives of the four slaves.[92] The report was probably true, for to his ward, he wrote, "the expence that my worthy nephews [William and Stockley Donelson] put me to, by selecting four of my Negroes out from forty to one hundred drunken Negroes all in a

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[84]*Ibid.*, III, 46.
[85]Jackson to A. J. Donelson, July 3, 1821, *ibid.*, 87.
[86]Jackson to John Hutchings, April 7, 1805, *ibid.*, I, 112; John Hutchings to Jackson, April 24, 1806, *ibid.*, 142.
[87]Jackson to Mrs. Mary Caffery, February 8, 1812, *ibid.*, 214.
[88]James J. Hanna to Jackson, March 1, 1821, *ibid.*, III, 42.
[89]Jackson to A. J. Donelson, July 28, 1822, *ibid.*, 166.
[90]Jackson to Egbert Harris, April 13, 1822, *ibid.*, 158.
[21]Col. Robert Hays to Jackson, December 20, 1814, *ibid.*, II, 121-22.
[92]Jackson to John A. Shute, January 3, 1839, *ibid.*, VI, 1, 2.

fight and my bad crops etc. etc. etc. makes it necessary that I should sacrifice some property to clear me of this unexpected expence."[93] Jackson felt that the prosecution of his Negroes was initiated against him by his political opponents,[94] since the Donelsons were supporters of the John Bell and Hugh L. White faction in the political world.

Jackson's slaves were loyal to him and regarded him as a kind master. This indicates much concerning the treatment that they received. One slave reported that the Negroes measured their ages by the events in the General's life.[45] Old Hannah, telling of Jackson's death, related that the doctor ordered the servants out but "we wouldn't go out. Old Hannah [another] his first cook went on so she had to be carried out. She was nearly 80." Then, she continued, Jackson looked around an hour before he died and said, "Here's poor George and Hannah. I have [arranged] it that you shall be well taken care of." Then he counselled them on their spiritual welfare, expressing the conviction that he would see them all in heaven. Old Hannah concluded, "Our master, or father is gone. The darkies would not be driven out. They looked on him as if they had as much right to him as Massa Andrew."[96] Negroes are emotional but that they looked to Jackson as a "father" is indicative of the treatment they received.

Today, the Hermitage garden near Nashville is a source of delight for many visitors to the Hermitage. It also delighted its owner a hundred years ago. While Mrs. Jackson was alive and he was away from home, Jackson would send her large quantities of garden seeds to plant.[97] In 1819 he employed William Frosh, an English gardener in Philadelphia to design his flower garden.[98]

Visitors to the Hermitage then as now were impressed by the orderliness of the General's farm. Willie Blount wrote:

> I was really surprised to find his farm in such excellent order, and so very productive. . . . His farming land is as you know, very fertile, very beautiful, and eligibly situated for comfort. It is largely improved, handsomely arranged with gratifying appearance to the visitors at his most hospitable house, open to all who have the pleasure of his acquaintance, and who travel through his neighborhood, none of whom pass that way without calling on him for social intercourse, viewing him to be the polite gentleman at home and abroad, and the friend of man everywhere.[99]

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[93]Jackson to A. J. Hutchings, March 18, 1839, *ibid.*, 7.
[94]*Ibid.*, 1 n.
[95]A. C. Buell, *op. cit.*, II, 409.
[96]"Old Hannah's Narrative of the last days of Jackson" as told by William Terrill, *Correspondence*, VI, 415.
[97]Jackson to Mrs. Jackson, March 22, 1803, *ibid.*, I, 64.
[98]*Ibid.*, II, 408 n.
[99]Quoted in *ibid.*, III, 226, 227.

Blount continued to say that the plantation was in excellent order, the domestics and hirelings well cared for and contented, so that even their daily work was a "pleasure" to them. Blount was a visitor at the Hermitage and not noted for understatement, but his picture was substantiated in the main by other reports.

M. Lavasseur, the secretary to Lafayette, wrote, "General Jackson showed us his garden and farm which appeared to be well cultivated. We everywhere remarked the greatest order and the most perfect neatness."[100] Thomas H. Benton said, "He was a careful farmer, overlooking everything himself, seeing that the fields and fences were in good order, the stock well attended, and the slaves comfortably provided for."[101]

Andrew Jackson was a planter, a statesman, a soldier, a lawyer, a businessman, and a politician, but he was first of all, as he wanted to be, a planter.

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[100]Quoted in James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York, 1861), II, 659.
[101]T. H. Benton, *Thirty Years View* (New York, 1854), I, 736.

CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE: ITS ECONOMIC HISTORY IN THE YEARS IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING APPOMATTOX

By James W. Livingood

As Market Street was being cleared of trees, one of the leading citizens of the little community of Chattanooga climbed onto a stump and harangued the workmen on the theme that they were living "at the funnel of the universe." The favored geographic location which first brought men to this area did not disappoint those who believed in the city, although the stump speaker on Market Street did exaggerate in his enthusiasm. Willson Whitman in her book entitled *God's Valley* emphasized the importance of Chattanooga's location most vividly when she described it as follows: "The Valley [of the Tennessee] watershed is best described as shaped like a butterfly with its waist at Chattanooga."[1] The wings, veined with large and small tributaries, reach out into East and West Tennessee. Not only does the body of the butterfly have access to both the upper eastern part of Tennessee and Virginia and the great West, but there are also numerous smaller valleys that open near Chattanooga, giving access to the southeast and southwest, which can be likened to the legs of this imaginary creature. These latter valleys were the natural pathways through the mountains to the cotton South and made Chattanooga the cross roads for a wide area. These geographic advantages were realized even in the days of Indian occupancy, when John Ross based his trading operations here in the later years of the Cherokee Nation's residence in the region.

As the hamlet of Ross's Landing grew from a straggling frontier trading station into the fairly compact village of Chattanooga, it revealed a history of adventure, peril, fortitude, and energy. At an early date it became the chief stopping place for the occasional steamers that used the river between the Muscle Shoals and Knoxville.[2] The hazards of the river, however, and the geographic advantages for overland traffic soon turned attention away from the

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[1]Willson Whitman, *God's Valley* (New York, 1939), 5.

[2]J. H. Alldredge, *et al., A History of Navigation on the Tennessee River System, House Documents*, 75 Congress, 1 Sess., No. 254 (Washington, 1937), 62; T. J. Campbell. *The Upper Tennessee* (Chattanooga, 1932), 9-45.

The *Chattanooga Times* of May 6, 1881 gives the following data of early steamboats which came over Muscle Shoals before 1856 as furnished by Captain George Nicholson for the Kingston *East Tennessean*: 1829: *Atlas* (Captain Connor);

Tennessee to broader trade areas. As early as 1826 the representatives of the state of Georgia, interested in obtaining western trade and in tapping the Tennessee River, recognized the importance of the site later to become Chattanooga.[3] Sometime later the state of Georgia undertook to construct a railroad known as the Western and Atlantic Railroad, which reached northward from Atlanta, and on May 9, 1850[4] completed a thorough connection from Chattanooga to Savannah, Georgia, and Charleston, South Carolina. The Western and Atlantic was actually the first railroad in the United States to reach beyond the Alleghany Mountains into the Mississippi Valley and celebrated its completion only twenty-five years after England's first railroad, the Stockton and Darlington, was put into operation.

As the prospect for completion of the Western and Atlantic began to crystallize, other routes leading from Chattanooga grew in importance. In the decade after 1850 the Western and Atlantic in magnet fashion attracted three routes all joining it at Chattanooga. The Nashville and Chattanooga gave access to the north in 1854.[5] On March 28, 1857, the last spike was driven in the Memphis and Charleston Railroad,[6] connecting the former city with Chattanooga, while a short time later the East Tennessee and Georgia, previously known as the Hiwassee, paralleled the Tennessee River through the eastern part of the state.[7] By 1860 Chattanooga was the focal point of the railroads in the whole Southeast and had connections with most of the important centers in or contiguous with that region.

In 1860,[8] when this little community of approximately 5,000 persons served by river and rail was just twenty-two years of age,

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1830: Knoxville (Beardan); 1832: *Reliance* (Coatney), *Guide* (Caselman); 1834: *Harkaway* (Nicholson); 1835: *Holston* (French); 1836: *Huntsman* (Mahan); 1837: *Pickaway* (Bledsoe); 1838: *Samaratan* (Sneed), *Enterprise* (Nicholson); 1840: *Cassandra* (Chapman); 1850: *Chattanooga* (Mahan), *Jefferson* (Nicholson), *Lincoln* (Doss), *Lady of Augusta* (Williams); 1851: *Fanny Mahone* (Todd), *Molley Garth* (Todd); 1852: *Union* (Spiller), *Jim Jackson* (Mahan), *Blackhawk* (Vaughn); 1853: *Lookout* (Todd); 1854: *Holston* (Jacques); 1855: *Knoxville* (Jacques). A number of these boats are not mentioned by Campbell, *op. cit.*, although he gives more correctly the dates for some of the above, particularly the *Atlas*, which came over the Shoals in 1828 instead of 1829.

[3]J. H. Johnston, *The Western and Atlantic Railroad of the State of Georgia* (Atlanta, 1931), 5-6.

[4]Chief Engineer of the Western and Atlantic Railroad, *Report* for 1850, 1. Secondary accounts gives greatly varying dates for the completion of this railroad.

[5]S. J. Folmsbee, "The Origins of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 6 (Knoxville, 1934), 94.

[6]T. D. Clark, "The Building of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad," in *ibid.*, No. 8 (1936), 23.

[7]J. W. Holland, "The East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad, 1836-1860," in *ibid.*, No. 3 (1931), 103.

[8]Charles D. McGuffey, *Standard History of Chattanooga* (Knoxville, 1911), 173-74; Zella Armstrong, *The History of Hamilton County and Chattanooga, Tennessee*, II (Chattanooga, 1940), 181-82.

it is reported to have operated twenty-two small industries where some 214 men were employed. These industries represented only a primary type of manufacturing where raw materials and country produce were processed. Saw mills, carpenter shops, two or three flour mills that brewed by-products as well as ground flour, blacksmitheries, and an iron furnace or two indicated the beginning of an industrial center. Probably the most important of these ventures was the iron establishment which appears to have been started about 1850 as the East Tennessee Iron and Manufacturing Company. Here two pioneers in this business, Robert Cravens and Thomas Webster, revealed the possibilities of a branch of industry that was later to become the backbone of Chattanooga's economic life. About 1860 this plant, then known as the Chattanooga Foundry and Machine Shop, was making heavy machinery for the Ducktown Copper Mines[9] as well as the heavy machinery for another ironmaster, Colonel S. B. Lowe, who was in the process of erecting a foundry to be known as the Vulcan Iron Works when the war broke.[10] There is also some evidence that a second furnace was in operation before the war; a Captain Bill Jones, representing northern capital, is reported to have operated a large blast furnace here, but when hostilities reached Chattanooga he closed his plant and went north.[11]

The juggernaut of war was drawn to Chattanooga by the commercially strategic advantages presented by the railroad junction, which was intended to bring peaceful prosperity rather than the social disease called war. The people of the town were scattered; marching armies disrupted all economic activity; Mr. Lowe dismantled his iron plant before it was finished and removed it to Alabama; railroads were torn up, later to be operated by the United States Military Railroad. Such havoc was wrought to the property and business of the town that, as new social, economic, and political questions of general reconstruction confronted the citizens of the town in 1865, so did the more immediate question of local rehabilitation. Saw mills, foundries, and retail shops had to start new careers. Progress encouraged by the enterprise, perseverance and energy of the town folk was frequently interrupted by such events as the great flood of 1867,[12] when a steamboat travelled on Market

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[9]L. L. Parham, *First Annual Directory . . . of the City of Chattanooga* (Knoxville, 1871), 53.

[10]*Ibid.*, 55-56; McGuffey, *op. cit.*, 175.

[11]*Ibid.*, 174-75.

[12]D. E. Donley, "The Flood of March, 1867, in the Tennessee River," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 8, 74-81. This inundation is called "the most disastrous flood that has visited the Tennessee Valley since its settlement by the white man."

Street; by numerous fires in both business and residential sections; by sporadic cases of cholera; and by the failure of the Alabama and Chattanooga Railroad, which struck a hard blow to local business men. The years following 1865 were not easy ones for Chattanooga or any of the war-torn southern communities.

It is rather hard to imagine the poor, small, unattractive village of Chattanooga that existed during the critical years that followed Appomattox. Certainly the town could not turn to great past achievements for consolation. But there was opportunity locked in the natural resources and the geographic features of its locale. The hope of developing these physical resources, coupled with a frontier-like faith in the future, generated the momentum which successfully carried the town through the critical years following the war. By 1870 her population had recovered its losses and amounted to something over 6,000, but her industries were still small and trade spasmodic. However, it is claimed that by that year fifty-eight industrial establishments were operating, employing some 850 workmen.[13]

The commercial part of Chattanooga in the 1860's was practically limited to Market Street between the river and Ninth Street. Broad Street was then known as Railroad Avenue, where the tracks of the Western and Atlantic were located, which, of course, was convenient for the stores whose back doors served as depot platforms. The architecture of the scattered buildings was severely criticised even in that day for design without "any possible reference to taste or convenience."[14] The editor of the *Athens Post*, after a visit to Chattanooga in 1868, said that the "spirit of improvement does not seem to be exercising a very large control" and that "a portion of the buildings begin to look time-worn and seedy."[15] An even more unfriendly account tells us that "two thirds of the houses are miserable, board shantys with clay chimneys," a statement which was challenged by the editor of *The Daily Republican*, which was for a time the only newspaper in the town.[16]

The streets of Chattanooga and the roads leading into the town revealed the same proximity to frontier conditions as the unattractive wooden buildings. It was claimed that Chattanooga could "be transported from a mud-hole to a sea of dust quicker than any place" known. Market Street, badly abused by the warring armies, was desperately in need of repair and was likened unto

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[13]McGuffey, *op.cit.*, 173-74.
[14]*The Daily Republican* (Chattanooga), April 9, 1869.
[15]*Ibid.*, December 10, 1868.
[16]From the pictures of the town at this time which are now available it certainly appears that the critics did little exaggerating.

the old man's mule which got "wusser from wear."[17] In 1868 when a Mr. Haroitz, a jeweler at Eighth and Market Streets, erected a large coal-oil lamp at his own expense, a local paper asserted that it would "certainly be appreciated in the dark muddy nights during the coming winter."[18] Nothing but the most miserable dirt roads was at the command of the farmers who wished to market produce in Chattanooga, and only a crude ferry operated on the river after the military bridge, which had been given to the city, was swept away in the 1867 flood. Realizing the importance of better transportation facilities, the editor of *The Daily Republican* wrote, "From field to market there should be but few hills, and no quagmires, or loose sand, to impede the passage of vehicles. The farmer should be enabled to reach the market without difficulty, delay or damage to his animals or wagon. Good roads and unrestricted trade make great cities. This is one of the wants of Chattanooga."[19]

Nor were the streets and alleys of the town in condition to defy inspection by health officials. Even Market Street was considered not compatible with what is essential to good health. It was said that "Its appearance indicates wealth to doctors and bankruptcy to life insurance companies."[20] This condition, it was lamented, frightened away people with capital who planned to move to Chattanooga.

The greatest factors of adversity, however, were a lack of capital and general depression conditions. So frequent was the mention of hard times that the paper noted after a day of good business on April 9, 1868, "at least one day of cheerfulness has passed over the heads of our businessmen."[21] Money was not available for daily business transactions, much less for industrial expansion. There is evidence that many commodities were exchanged on a barter basis and that newspaper subscriptions were often paid with local produce. A city ordinance passed in 1869 provided for an issue of municipal scrip which city employees had to take as pay and which could be used to pay taxes.[22] This practice was followed until 1876 during which time thousands of dollars worth of paper were circulated. Naturally, depreciation accompanied this fiat money and brought much trouble to the city officials, as one could buy scrip at times for as low as thirty-five cents on the dollar and

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[17]*Ibid.*, April 7, 1868.
[18]*Ibid.*, September 12, 1868.
[19]*Ibid.*, April 25, 1868, August 18, 1869.
[20]*Ibid.*, March 9, 1869.
[21]*Ibid.*, April 9, 1869.
[22]Armstrong, *op.cit.*, II, 79-80.

then pay taxes with it at full value.[23]

The lack of capital for industrial development was a major worry of enterprising citizens who preferred to see Chattanooga develop manufacturing enterprises rather than remain a place "trading on butter and eggs." Full support was given Governor William G. Brownlow, who in his inaugural address in 1865 plead for state action to attract economic carpetbaggers to Tennessee.[24] When the state appointed the Reverend Hermann Bokum to head the Board of Immigration created in 1867, local newspapers joined in the endeavor to paint a sanguine picture of the Chattanooga area. *The Daily Republican* carried on its front page for approximately one month in 1868 an announcement which appears to have been a paid advertisement designed to attract men and money to the town. It read:

WANTED IMMEDIATELY ANY NUMBER OF CARPET-BAGGERS TO COME TO CHATTANOOGA AND SETTLE

The people of Chattanooga, no longer wishing to stay in the background, and feeling the necessity of immediately developing the vast mineral resources surrounding them, by which they can place themselves on the high road to wealth, prosperity and power, extend a GENERAL INVITATION to all CARPET-BAGGERS to leave the bleak winds of the North and come to CHATTANOOGA.

It is unnecessary to repeat what is universally known, that our climate is mild and healthful; our soil fertile, and our mineral resources and railroad facilities unequalled in the world.

Those who wish to come can be assured that they will NOT BE REQUIRED TO RENOUNCE THEIR POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS TENETS, as the jurisdiction of the Ku Klux and other vermin does not extend over these parts.

Persons wishing to immigrate will be furnished detailed information concerning any business, by addressing Box 123, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

VOX POPULI

P. S. Those having capital, brains, or muscle preferred.[25]

Such pleas did not go unanswered. Although the state program in general did not appear to be very successful, people from many sections of this country and from Europe moved to Chattanooga. In the years immediately following the close of the war, the town developed a cosmopolitan population which can be illustrated

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[23]*Ibid.*, 79; *Chattanooga Times*, October 26, November 25, 1879. The *Times* says that the evils of scrip were, however, not stopped when the court ordered its suspension. Intangible scrip called "Ledger Balances" were substituted; city employees thus bought goods on their "time" as collateral for their promises to pay. This was still a basic problem in 1879, when many local merchants would not receive an order on the city at any price.

[24]W. B. Hesseltine, "Tennessee's Invitation to Carpet-Baggers," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 4 (1932), 102-15.

[25]*The Daily Republican.* This first appears in the issue of December 8, 1868.

by enumerating the regions from which the doctors in Chattanooga in 1868 came: three were Chattanoogans and two came from other parts of Tennessee; one was a native of Ohio; one came from Kentucky; one from New Hampshire, who had been with the Federal army; one from western New York; one from Germany; one from Florida; and one from England.[26]

The business activities of Chattanooga after 1865 were chiefly retailing and wholesaling, although lively interest began to be shown in the development of manufacturing. At the wharf on the river in the season when the Tennessee carried sufficient water could be seen the little steamboats *Mary Byrd, Cherokee, Rasacca, Minnie, Kingston, Lucy Coker,* and *Alert,* laden with large quantities of corn but also delivering to Chattanooga from up stream other agricultural products such as wheat, hay, bacon, lard, eggs, peas, potatoes, and other country produce. The steamer *Alert,* a 125 ton craft, measured 125 feet in length, 20 feet across the beam and drew only 12 inches of water when light. In May, 1868, advertisements stated that this boat under Captain H. G. Henneger "Will trade all the season between Chattanooga and Knoxville, the draft of the boat enabling it to run at all times. She will also run on all tributary streams, French Broad, Little Tennessee, Clinch, and Hiwassee, on the rises. Also, up Sale Creek and Emory River."[27] The *Mary Byrd,* on docking in January, 1869, carried a typical cargo from up stream. She carried 6,864 bushels of corn, 616 bushels of wheat, 870 bushels of oats, 22 bushels of rye, 114,462 pounds of hay, 2,700 pounds of bacon, 200 pounds of lard, 90 sacks of flour, 42 bushels of potatoes, 140 bushels of peas, 12 bushels of onions, 24 bushels of fruit and 30 passengers.[28]

Pulled up along shore among the steamers were also to be seen flatboats and rafts steered down stream by sailor-farmers who brought their own logs, lumber and produce to market from shoal waters where steamers could not travel or who preferred to use this method of marketing to save freight costs. *The Knoxville Whig* noted in a deploring tone that a considerable number of these craft passed by that town for Chattanooga.[29] A few coal barges from the Sale Creek mines, a mail boat that plied downstream, or a local trade boat that was the "chicken wagon" of the river and served the rural people who lived on its shores, could also have been examined along the shore near the foot of Market Street.

Chattanooga was the entrepot for the up-river producers since

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[26]*Ibid.,* October 23, November 11, 1868.
[27]*Ibid.,* May 20, 1868. Advertisement first appears on this date.
[28]*Ibid.,* January 19, 1869.
[29]*Ibid.,* April 24, 1868.

many steamers seldom passed beyond the town through the treacherous waters of the Skillet, the Boiling Pot, the Suck, and Tumbling Shoals, which restricted navigation where the Tennessee cuts its gorge between Walden's Ridge and Raccoon Mountain just below Chattanooga. Upstream navigation was not without its hazards and, as interest concerning the river ran high, a revival of enthusiasm in improving the river in the latter part of the 60's was not unexpected. Public meetings were called to attract attention to the problem and to solicit aid from the federal government.[30] The first issue of *The Daily Republican* for 1869 proudly called attention to a dredge which was then operating on the river and said, "We may soon expect to see it trying to tear the bottom out of the Tennessee."[31] Even before the dredge appeared, however, two rivermen organized an enterprise to bring cotton from the lower river, through the bad water, by steamer to Chattanooga, from which point it was to be forwarded by rail. It was claimed that nearly all the cotton of northern Alabama had come this way until 1855, "when superior enterprise" on the part of Memphis drew it westward. Now by making liberal advances upon shipments and by giving bills of lading from any point on the Tennessee between Decatur and Chattanooga through to New York it was hoped that this trade would again be diverted to its former channels.[32]

The interest displayed in regard to the river traffic did not mean that Chattanooga had forgotten her railroad facilities. The roads torn by war were gradually returned to their owners and put in working order. In December, 1867, the Nashville and Chattanooga reported an increase in business and announced that additional service would be provided.[33] The Western and Atlantic was finally brought into regular service although reconstruction politics kept it from good health for a considerable time. Local interest was also displayed in the Wills Valley road, which was chartered in 1852 to run to Gadsden, Alabama. This road, partly constructed before the war, received a stock subscription from Chattanooga amounting to $100,000.[34] In 1868 this company and the Northeast and Southwest Railroad Company of Alabama were consolidated and merged into one unit to run from Chattanooga to Meridian, Mississippi, to be known as the Alabama and Chattanooga

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[30]*Ibid.*, February 8, March 8, 1868.
[31]*Ibid.*, January 2, 1869.
[32]*Ibid.*, November 10, 1868.
[33]*Ibid.*, December 18, 1867.
[34]Johnston, *op.cit.*, 57-63.
[35]*Chattanooga Times*, March 28, 1880.

Railroad.[36] Under the control of J. C. and D. N. Stanton, carpetbaggers of Boston, millions of dollars from the Alabama state treasury were obtained from the Radical legislature for the use of these promoters.[37] Nevertheless, its future was cut short as it was seized by the state of Alabama shortly after completion in 1871 and, until April 15, 1877, was the prey of complex litigation.[38] Allowed to run down badly during these years, the Alabama and Chattanooga Railroad's value as a carrier was seriously limited until purchased for the Erlanger Syndicate in 1877.

Much more extensive was the enthusiasm for the new railroad from Cincinnati which was being planned by that city. After due consideration Chattanooga was chosen as the terminus of this road and, on the announcement of another iron link broadening Chattanooga's trading area, a grand turnout at the city hall was staged. *The Daily Republican* for June 8, 1869, announced, "Last night at an early hour, the City Hall was crowded to its utmost capacity by an enthusiastic assembly of citizens anxious to testify their joy at the selection by Cincinnati of this place as the Southern terminus of the Great Southern Trunk Railroad. The meeting was ushered in by the booming of cannon and illuminated by a gorgeous display of fireworks."[39] Railroading was again about to dominate Chattanooga's economic life, altough this municipally-built railroad was not completed until 1880.

Along Market Street were the shops of retail and wholesale merchants and near the river the warehouses of commission merchants who transshipped goods brought in by the river trade. Many of the merchants of the larger stores made annual or bi-annual trips to eastern markets, especially New York, and proudly advertised when their new stock arrived. Some doing wholesale as well as retail business announced that their stock was so complete that "country merchants will save the expense of a trip east" by purchasing from them. Parham's city directory of 1871 lists in its classified index of advertisements two houses specializing in agricultural implements, a coal dealer, two clothing concerns, six commission merchants, two drug concerns, eight dry goods merchants, three furniture dealers, a seller of "gents' furnishings," seven grocers, three hotels, two dealers in leather and three in iron, two merchant tailors, two lumber dealers, and one man who sold plumbers' ma-

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[36]*Daily Republican,* December 25, 1868; J. W. Dubose (ed. by J. K. Greer), *Alabama's Tragic Decade* (Birmingham, 1940), 153-54, 177.

[37]*Ibid.,* 177-84, 239.

[38]*Ibid.,* 184-88; A. S. Ochs and D. B. Harris, *The Chattanooga Directory and Business* Gazette, 1878-79 (Chattanooga, 1878), 107.

[39]*Daily Republican,* June 8, 1869.

terials.[40] To this list one could no doubt add a number of other small shops as well as the numerous grog shops.

The important center for agricultural implements was the house of Ruble and Hight, a partnership composed of an Indianian and a Georgian. Although their experiment in the store and in the partnership was more or less a chimerical one in the years just after the war, they seem to have done a fair business in everything from "hoes to threshers." L. L. Parham, compiler of the first city directory of Chattanooga, writes that during the harvest season of 1870 they sold 60 threshing machines, 72 reapers and mowers, and over 100 horse hay rakes. Their trade in plows was also good with a sale of 225 reported for the month of January, 1871.[41]

In the dry goods and grocery business the concern of William Crutchfield and Company was outstanding. Organized just after the war, they carried on an extensive trade and vigorously announced the presence of their stock to the public. They offered for sale staple and fancy dry goods, domestics, hosiery, "Yankee notions," boots, shoes, hats, and groceries.[42]

Although it was realized that the main business in Chattanooga at this time was that of trade, much more interest was shown toward the small manufacturing plants and the future of manufacturing. Saw mills, furniture factories, and grist mills did moderate business in season but the most outstanding development was to be found in the iron industry. Although the armies had commandeered the use of the existing establishments during the campaigns around Chattanooga, their owners soon had them returned to private business although the equipment was most likely well worn. Saw mills and furniture factories had their raw materials floated down the river to their locations, and the writer of the first city directory states that the capital employed in wood manufacture amounted to $150,000 in 1871.[43] Three saw mills were in operation in 1865, with the Loomis and Bennet concern alone capable of sawing 50,000 feet of lumber a day.[44] However, all three were washed out by the flood of 1867 and only Loomis and Bennet rebuilt. Two furniture factories, those of Pierce and Wood and Charles Sunquist, turned out bureaus, bedsteads, chairs, etc., while Waters, Monteith and Company specialized in school furniture.[45] The grist mills continued to use up-river grain for flour and whiskey

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[40]Parham, *op.cit.*, 7-8.
[41]*Ibid.*, 35-36.
[42]*Ibid.*, 40; *Daily Republican*, March 25, April 7, 1868.
[43]Parham, *op.cit.*, 47.
[44]Ochs and Harris, *op.cit.*, 118.
[45]Parham, *op.cit.*, 40-42, 58.

with Daniel Kaylor leading in this field. There was also operating in 1868 the inevitable Mineral Water Factory which possibly pointed the way for the proprietary medicine business in this region.[46]

The iron industry, which had its birth before the war, recovered rapidly after 1865 and built the foundations for the future industrial activity in Chattanooga. In 1871 the amount of capital invested in iron manufactories totaled about one million dollars.[47] Thomas Webster's establishment survived the war and it is reported that after the departure of the armies this concern gathered used iron shells from the battlefield and reworked them into iron products for peacetime use and thus contributed to an earlier reconstruction in the central South.[48] In 1869 this company, the Chattanooga Foundry and Machine Company, was doing a fair business; among its orders was one for 25 cars for the Alabama and Chattanooga Railroad.[49] Parham says some 100 hands were employed in 1871 and states, "To see the life and energy in such a place makes a man ashamed to be idle."[50]

Colonel S. B. Lowe, who was preparing for business before the war, returned to Chattanooga and commenced rebuilding the Vulcan Iron Works about 1866. Only the untiring energy of its leader kept this company alive during these years. In 1868 *The Daily Republican* commented that the Vulcan works had been running regularly for some time. By 1871 about 200 men were employed in the rolling mill, blacksmith shop, and machine shop making car axles, all kinds of merchantable iron, flat and box cars, while the management was planning to roll railroad iron.[51]

In 1864 the Federal government built a rolling mill in Chattanooga which was used for re-rolling railroad rails torn up and twisted by the Confederate forces. This property was leased in October, 1865 to John A. Spooner of Massachusetts, who in turn assigned his interests to the Southwestern Iron Company, an organization which was dominated by the great ironmaster, Abram Hewitt.[52] By May, 1868, this company could not get enough old iron to operate at capacity; wages were reduced and men laid off.[53] At the end

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[46]*Daily Republican,* August 1, 1868.
[47]Parham, *op.cit.,* 47.
[48]McGuffey, *op.cit.,* 174.
[49]*Daily Republican,* February 28, May 26, 1869.
[50]Parham, *op.cit.,* 51, 54.
[51]*Ibid.,* 55-57.
[52]Allan Nevins, *Abram S. Hewitt* (New York, 1935), 252. Hewitt was one of the first great American iron masters; his political interests placed him in Congress for five terms as well as in the mayor's chair in New York. General Gustavus W. Smith served as general manager of the Southwestern Iron Company and Hewitt himself was treasurer.
[53]*Ibid.,* May 8, 1868.

of the year it was announced that this plant, which had a capacity of producing 300 tons of railroad iron per week, would be sold.[54] This mill was bought by the Roane Iron Company, enlarged and developed as this concern's Chattanooga plant.

The Roane Iron Company was incorporated in 1867 under the trained eye of General John T. Wilder, who knew the iron business from his work in Ohio and Indiana before he became associated with the Union army and Wilder's Lightning Brigade.[55] Having property in Tennessee, acquainted with the resources of the region through his interest in geology, and seeking a mild climate to recuperate his health, Wilder moved to Chattanooga at the age of 36.[56] General Wilder was joined by a party of capitalists headed by W. O. Rockwood and built up the iron furnaces at Rockwood in Roane County in 1867.[57] In 1869 Hewitt and a number of new individuals were brought into the company when the Southwestern Foundry at Chattanooga was purchased from the federal government. The latest improved machinery was installed, including Dank's improved rotary puddling furnace, which the traveller Robert Somers commented was the first working test for this method.[58] It was evident from the time of the company's organization that it would be a leader in the iron industry, not only in Chattanooga, but throughout the central area of the South.

Three other smaller iron works were started in 1870. The Enterprise Machine Works, operated by a man from Pittsburgh, began making small tools, pumps, lathes and small engines.[60] The Novelty Machine Works, organized by two men who had been connected with the Vulcan works, also made and repaired small tools, pumps, and lathes,[61] while Messrs. Bromley and H. Clay Evans were inaugurating their Car and Wheel Factory.[62] With these ventures in iron proving to be successful, many prospectors, usually "men from Pittsburgh," journeyed to Chattanooga to search out new sites for furnaces

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[54]*Ibid.*, December 13, 1868, and March 24, 1869, which carries a reprint from the *Congressional Globe*. Mr. Nevins mistakenly writes that Hewitt bought the mill from the government within a few months after Appomattox. Actually proposals were not opened until December 31, 1868, but Hewitt had been operating it under lease up to that time.

[55]Samuel Cole Williams, *General John T. Wilder, Commander of the Lightning Brigade* (Bloomington, Ind., 1936), 2-3.

[56]*Ibid.*, 40-42.

[57]*Ibid.*, 42. Captain H. S. Chamberlain was the third important person in this venture. His blast furnaces were the first to use coke in the South.

[58]Robert Somers, *Southern States Since the War* (London, 1871), 106; Parham, *op.cit.*, 59.

[59]L. L. Parham, *Chattanooga, Tennessee; Hamilton County, and Lookout Mountain* (Chattanooga, 1876), 41.

[60]*Ibid.*, 42.

[61]*Ibid.*, 46.

[62]Parham, *First Annual Directory . . .*, 58.

and new mines of ore and coal. So important did this business become that by 1878 the fourth of July parade was used to tell of the new industrial era.[63] The first float carried the sign "Cotton Was King"; the second said, "Iron is King Now"; while the third announced, "Coal is Prime Minister."

The adverse conditions that existed in the little town had not produced dejection or any semblance of a despondent note. Rather, it produced the most important development noticeable from a study of this period. Undoubtedly the philosophy of optimism and the sanguine hopes for the future voiced daily by the press and expressed by the local citizenry in glowing terms is the most important contribution of the sixties to the later development of this vicinity and is in marked contrast to the general tone of the reconstruction era. Individual initiative and the spirit of enterprise were regarded as the foundations on which a great city could be built. A dynamic spirit which welcomed enterprising men from all sections of the country to share in the advantages prevailed over provincial avarice to keep all the advantages for the native population. The first city directory in 1871 enumerated the possibilities for men of energy. The local press focused attention on the few who refused to sell good business sites at reasonable prices,[64] on the poor conditions of the streets, and the need for an agricultural society to foster and improve that branch of industry. Moreover, the editors continually wrote long articles about the mineral wealth, commercial opportunities, and the favorable manufacturing factors. They announced that Chattanooga would soon be a "hive of industry" and "the place of all places in the United States where capital can find its best investments." Due emphasis was placed on the low freight rates, the climate, the proximity to fertile farmlands, and especially on the spirit of harmony that existed between men from the North and men from the South who were living and working together. It is apparent from the many reprints of articles in *The Daily Republican* from newspapers in Chicago, Cincinnati, and numerous other cities and from articles as found in *Harpers Magazine* that information about Chattanooga was disseminated widely throughout the nation.

The great faith in the future, along with a keen appreciation of the natural resources of the area demonstrated by those eager to boost the town, bore remarkable results in the decades to follow. Prosperity did not fall into the laps of the pioneer merchants and manufacturers without great effort; but adversity was overcome by a spirit of confidence in the ability of the individual to realize and

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[63] *Chattanooga Weekly Commercial,* June 30, 1878.
[64] *Daily Republican,* November 29, 1868.

use the gifts of nature that surrounded him. Vigorous activity in daily economic matters, along with an eager participation in civic matters and future developments of the community by residents who had come from the South and North, carried Chattanooga along the "Road to Reunion" at an early date.

THE EAST TENNESSEE REPUBLICANS AS A MINORITY PARTY, 1870-1896*

By VERTON M. QUEENER

In a previous article,* it was made clear why and how the East Tennessee Republican party became a minority party of the state. In this article, the attitude of this minority party toward state issues and third party movements is the theme. The first consideration is the party's relationship to such state issues as the railroads, state debt, immigration, public education, taxation, and industrialization; and second, the position the party maintained toward such third party movements as the Greenback, the Granger, the Farmers Alliance, and the Populist.

Leadership of the Republican party in East Tennessee from the Civil War to the end of the century was interested in railroads. The relationship of the party to railroads during the Republican ascendancy has often been told and well told.[1] The interest on the part of this group did not cease with the return of the Democrats to power in 1870. This interest was not always political, but the interest often hinged around the possibility of using the railroads to further party plans. It is this phase of the relationship between party and railroads that is dealt with here.

As far back as 1865, Daniel Richardson, an early railroad lobbyist, wrote to the directors of the Knoxville and Kentucky Railroad Company, saying:

> It is with profound regret that I announce to you the failure of our Railroad Bill in the Senate. Stanton and Senator Wilson have been the cause of its defeat. . . . I am compelled to say to *you,* and *all* of our people in East Tennessee, that we need not expect *any* legislation . . . as a division of a state, till we can be represented here by our men.[2]

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*This is a continuation of two articles, "The Origin of the Republican Party in East Tennessee," and "A Decade of East Tennessee Republicanism," which appeared in *Publications* Nos. 13 and 14.

[1]E. Merton Coulter, *The Cincinnati Southern Railroad and the Struggle for Southern Commerce,* 1865-1872 (Chicago, 1922); S. J. Folmsbee. "The Radicals and the Railroads," Philip M. Hamer, *Tennessee A History,* II (New York 1933), 659-73; R. O. Biggs, "The Cincinnati Southern Railway: A Municipal Enterprise," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 7 (1935), 81-102.

[2]L. C. and John C. Houk MSS. (McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee), March 3, 1865.

Congressman Horace Maynard won approval from East Tennesseans partly because he stood for congressional aid to railroads.[3]

In the late 1860's and early '70's, Cincinnati proposed to build a railroad from that city to some southern terminus. Three Tennessee cities made strong bids for this honor—Knoxville, Chattanooga, and Nashville. Many a delegate trooped to Cincinnati to extol the advantages of his particular city as a terminus for this road. Knoxville sent such railroad officials as Mayor M. D. Bearden, C. M. McGhee, and John H. Crozier. Other cities sent equally well-known delegations. Finally, the choice having narrowed to Knoxville and Chattanooga, the latter won. The Chattanooga committee then set out to get a right of way through Tennessee and had a bill introduced in the General Assembly in 1869 providing that a right of way across the state be granted. Knoxville's representative, John M. Fleming, led the opposition which almost defeated the bill.[4]

While Republican papers of Knoxville like the *Whig*, *Chronicle* and *Journal* were advocating railroads, immigration, and industry, the Republican leaders were hoping to win elections partly by the use they could make of the railroads. One of these reported to his state political boss as follows: "With money, whiskey, the tariff, the railroads, and Bate as the Democratic nominee, we will have an excellent prospect!"[5] Another Republican felt the same way about railroads and elections, writing:

> Tennessee . . . [will] cast her electoral vote for the Republican ticket, and wheel squarely into line. . . . The whiskey organization will secede [from the Democrats], the astrayed [astranged] colored voters will return, self protection will drive the railroad influence to us, the obox[i]ous Sunday laws will have its effect and . . . the tariff question . . . swell our ranks. . . .[6]

This same writer felt that much would depend on the candidate for governor and on the platform. The platform, he said, should be so "broad and liberal" that all dissatisfied Democrats could come and stand on it.

Political letters on the railroad *motif* continued for some time between Republican party leaders who were trying to increase the vote of their party. For example, A. M. Hughes again wrote: "The hearty and active support of the railroads alone would give us the state next time. . . ."[7] L. C. Houk, congressman from the second

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[3]Knoxville *Chronicle*, March 1, 1873; *Congressional Globe*, 40 Congress, 3 Session (1868), 426, 914.

[4]Biggs, *op. cit.*, 89-93.

[5]A. M. Hughes, Jr., to L. C. Houk, March 14, 1884, Houk MSS. The Bate mentioned was the Wm. B. Bate, governor for two terms from 1882 to 1886.

[6]J. E. Stacey to Hon. L. C. Houk, April 9, 1884, *ibid.*

[7]A. M. Hughes, Jr., to L. C. Houk, January 19, 1885, *ibid.*

district, and many of those who wrote to him were planning to use the railroads to further their party aims. A Mr. Watson wrote from Nashville: "It seems to me that the prospect is bright for our success in 1886 . . . we have fifty members of the Legislature. . . . The Railroad interest in the state is with us and, I think, can be relied upon to give us more effective support than in the last canvass."[8] Some party leaders devised a plan in 1885 to get the support of the railroad interest. "I believe, now," wrote A. G. French, "if we are able to repeal the Railroad commission Act that Bate [the governor] will veto it; then, it will be so near the close of the session that it will fail to repass over his veto. . . ."[9] The success of such a plan would have embarrassed the Democratic party.

As late as 1892, the Republicans were still thinking of railroads in their relation to elections as well as their relation to transportation. J. W. Baker, the Republican leader of Nashville, wrote:

> Everything is getting along harmoniously . . . as far as the Republicans are concerned. The Democrats are completely under the dominance of the railroads. Consequently the[y, the railroads] do not fear any adverse R. R. Legislation. Formerly the R. Rds have been issuing passes to members of the Legislature . . . they are [now] refusing . . . and I can assure you, this has been a great disappointment to some of our Republican friends from East Tennessee.[10]

Not all Republicans were blind to the motives which were urging some of the railroad politicos along. One writer strongly hinted at these motives, saying: "The [state] Senator is engaged in a hot fight over his railroad matter. . . . I abandoned the Midlands on this account . . . The truth is, however, that there are many strong and valid reasons to be urged against the proposed large subscription —not the least of which is that a boodle set is manipulating it."[11] Many Republicans , however, were interested in railroads for other reasons than passes, influence, and boodle. There were private, as well as political, purposes to be served. Many Republicans were owners, officers, and builders; they felt that each new mile of railroad would be a paying investment and a worthwhile development in the state.

Aside from railroads, there were other state issues on which the Republicans took a stand as a party. One such issue was the state debt. John Randolph Neal says that "the most troublesome legacy Mr. Brownlow left the people of Tennessee was an increase

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[8]Watson to L. C. Houk, February 3, 1885, *ibid.*
[9]A. G. French to Hon. L. C. Houk, March 2, 1885, *ibid.*
[10]J. W. Baker to Hon. John C. Houk (son and successor to L. C. Houk), January 26, 1892, *ibid.*
[11]John J. Littleton to Hon. L. C. Houk, September 7, 1887, *ibid.*

in the state debt. . . ."[12] The debt-settlement question was one of the chief issues in the state for the thirteen years between 1870 and 1883. There are three points to remember about the debt: "the debt was large; the Democrats attributed it to the financial policies of the Republicans in Reconstruction times; and the bulk of it had been incurred for the benefit of railroads."[13] In addition to the size of the debt and the poverty of Tennessee due to the war, there was, of course, the panic of 1873, the effects of which lasted for some years. The people of Tennessee, especially in the middle and western sections, were hard hit because of the scarcity of money in circulation.[14]

The people of the state were divided into three groups according to their way of thinking on the question of the debt settlement. One group "desired to see the state's credit preserved by paying the bonds in full." A second group "conscientiously believed that the state . . . would be unable to meet its just obligations." A third faction was for "outright repudiation." This third group made its stand on the grounds that the bonds had been issued in violation of the law laid down by the Internal Improvements Act of 1852, and that the Brownlow administration, which issued the bonds, did not represent the state, but was a revolutionary government by usurpation.[15]

The majority of Republicans were in the first group, for three reasons. First, they had created the major portion of the debt and, hence, felt some responsibility for it. Second, East Tennessee farmer folk are scrupulously honest, and politically Republican.[16] To catch and hold these East Tennessee voters the party had to make "honesty the best policy." And finally, the Republican party nationally as a means of punishing further the southern states was throughout the reconstruction period writing a debt-payment plank in each national platform. The Republicans of Tennessee, in this situation as in regard to the Civil Rights Bill, stood with the party against state interest. Much of the debt had been an outright fraud on the people of the state. The reconstruction administration which had increased the debt so much was in no correct sense a goverment by a majority of the people of the state. Almost any sovereign state would have repudiated all or a great part of such a debt. Tennessee

[12]John Randolph Neal, *Disunion and Restoration in Tennessee* (New York, 1899), 45.

[13]Daniel M. Robison, *Bob Taylor and the Argarian Revolt in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, 1935), 20.

[14]*Cong. Globe,* 43 Cong., 1 Sess. (1882), 777. The conditions in Tennessee were described by Senator Brownlow in a speech before the United States Senate.

[15]Neal, *op. cit.,* 48.

[16]"An American Letter—Knoxville," *Fortune,* August 10, 1939.

compromised, but the road to a compromise was long and arduous.

By 1873 the debt had been reduced by almost one third—that is, to about thirty and a half million dollars. This reduction was brought about by solvent railroads taking advantage of two acts passed in 1868 and 1870. These acts provided that railroads owing the state might discharge such indebtedness or any part of it by paying the treasury, bonds of the state.[17] Railroads that were able took full advantage of this opportunity because the state bonds were greatly depressed and could be bought on the market for a fraction of a dollar and turned in at par value. Then, too, some railroads were sold under the hammer and the proceeds turned over to the state.[18] Finally, in 1883, an act was passed settling the troublesome question. By this act, the state "debt proper,"[19] plus accumulated interest, was to be funded at par, the interest rate to be five per cent and five and one-quarter per cent. The remainder of the debt was to be funded at fifty cents on the dollar, with interest at three per cent. Thus the state debt was reduced to approximately $15,750,000.[20]

In emphasizing the stand of the Republican party on the question of the debt, one should not overlook the fact that many Democrats, including most of the leaders, were for paying the total debt. Others in the party were for a compromise payment, while a fairly large group of Democrats were for repudiating the bulk of the debt. The Republicans throughout the state were divided to a less extent, but along the same lines. The leaders of the party, East Tennesseans, were for paying the debt in full.[21]

The part played by the Republican party in the settlement was largely limited to platform pledges to uphold the "honor and credit of the United States and the state," in all the state campaigns from 1870 to 1882.[22] The party won the governorship in 1880, but in spite of this it had almost no influence in settling the state debt. It denounced any proposal short of full payment as repudiation, and denounced repudiation as a crime against the state and nation. In this instance the Tennessee party had the backing of the national Republican party platforms of 1872, 1876, and 1880. But each

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[17]*Acts of Tenn.*, 37 General Assembly, 1 Session, 1871, pp. 30-31. The companies had been largely responsible for the act's being passed. The railroad lobby brought great pressure to bear to keep the words "legal bonds" out of the state laws. See *Senate Journal*, 41 General Assembly, 1 Session, Appendix, 185-86.

[18]P. M. Hamer, *Tennessee A History*, II (New York, 1933), 675-92.

[19]This included debts contracted before the war, for such things as the Capitol, the Hermitage, and certain railroads, and amounted in 1883 to $2,118,000.

[20]Hamer, *op. cit.*, II, 692.

[21]Knoxville *Tribune*, January 3, 1878.

[22]Nashville *Republican Banner*, September 23, 1870. See also *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1870-1882.

state campaign turned on something other than the state debt. In 1872 all attention went to a three-way congressional campaign between Horace Maynard (Republican) and B. F. Cheatham and Andrew Johnson (Democrats). The campaign turned on the relative merits of being a Radical, a Bourbon, or a Commoner. The Radical won.

In 1874 it was the Civil Rights Bill. In 1876 the Republican party was still suffering from the defeat on the Civil Rights Bill and did not formally nominate a candidate for governor. In 1878 the Republicans were handicapped by divisions, apathy, blunders, carpetbaggerism, and yellow fever. The Republican convention nominated Emerson Etheridge without getting his ideas on the debt issue or anything else. Etheridge refused to run.[23] Finally, Doctor E.M. Wight of Chattanooga was given the nomination. He was a native of Maine, came to Chattanooga as a soldier in the Federal army, had been mustered out in Chattanooga in 1866, and during the years following had practiced medicine there. On the side he had interested himself in public sanitation and welfare, and because of these interests had dabbled in local politics.[24] The *Chronicle* was never enthusiastic about Wight. Democratic papers forgot about Wight's worthy record in Chattanooga, his good qualities, and emphasized his being from Maine, his arrival with the Federal army, and his decision to stay in the South because of "revenue only." Before the campaign was over, an epidemic of yellow fever hit Chattanooga. Dr. Wight gave up the canvass to administer to the sick.[25] The outcome was an overwhelming victory for the Democratic candidate, Albert S. Marks, who personally stood for "scaling the debt" and whose platform proposed to "submit . . . to the people for their ratification or rejection of any adjustment of the State debt which may be made by the Legislature. . . ."[26]

For the campaign of 1880, the Republicans nominated Alvin Hawkins for governor. They adopted a platform in keeping with former ones—pledging the payment of the state debt.[27] The Democrats nominated John V. Wright, a state credit man; whereupon, one hundred and fifty delegates walked out of the Democratic convention. In a meeting of their own, they nominated S. F. Wilson,

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[23]Nashville *Republican Banner*, August 24, 1878; Knoxville *Tribune*, August 24, 1878.

[24]Knoxville *Chronicle*, September 17, 1878.

[25]*Ibid.*, October 10, 1887.

[26]*Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year, 1878* (New York), 783; Charles A. Miller, *The Official and Political Manual of the State of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1890), 170.

[27]Knoxville *Chronicle*, May 8, 1880.

who opposed paying that part of the state debt "contracted fraudulently."[28]

In the campaign the Nashville *American*, probably the most influential paper in the state, supported John V. Wright ardently, and advocated the payment of the debt. This paper urged Wilson to withdraw, as he was obviously the weaker candidate, and thereby prevent the sure election of Hawkins.[29] Wilson did not withdraw, and in spite of all that the Democratic papers could say about Hawkins and his concurrence in a supreme court decision which upheld the Radical franchise law, Hawkins was elected. Now that the election was over, the *Chronicle* wisely cautioned the Republicans about their great responsibilities. Especially it cautioned them about the responsibility of settling the state debt. This paper felt that some fair compromise ought to be reached, say fifty cents on the dollar and six per cent interest.[30] The *Chronicle* had adopted the Democratic proposal!

The Republican party was in a position to use wise advice, because it had campaigned for several years on the debt issue; now it could attempt to settle the grave question. The first session of the legislature passed an act, "To settle the state debt at one hundred cents on the dollar and three per cent interest, and making bond coupons receivable for taxes." Because of the last clause, the act was declared unconstitutional.[31] This decision was handed down near the end of the Hawkins administration. The legislature was hurriedly called into special session and rushed through an act providing for the funding of the state debt at sixty cents on the dollar with a graduated interest rate from two to six per cent. This act put the Republicans very near the position of the main wing of the Democratic party which stood for scaling the debt.

The campaign of 1882 was on, and the issue was the state debt as usual.[32] The candidates were Hawkins and William B. Bate.[33] Bate won by a vote of 111,621 to 90,860 for Hawkins.[34] In the first session of Bate's legislature, an act was passed providing that:

> On the grounds of public policy they [the people] will pay in full the bonds held by Mrs. James K. Polk, and all bonds held by educational, literary, and charitable institutions in this State; that they will pay in discharge of their just obligation, what is known to them as the State debt

[28] *Ibid.*, August 18, 1880.
[29] Nashville *American*, October 31, 1880.
[30] Knoxville *Chronicle*, November 25, 1880.
[31] Miller, *op. cit.*, 58; Lynn and Others *vs.* Polk, 8 Lea (Tennessee), 122 ff.
[32] Miller, *op. cit.*, 59.
[33] There was one other Democrat, J. H. Fussell, running on a so-called "Blue Sky" ticket, which stood for repudiation.
[34] Election Returns, Secretary of State's Office, Nashville.

proper, in full less war interest, and that in compromise of the remainder of the debt . . ., they will pay one half of the principal and accrued interest by issuing therefor bonds of the State bearing interest at the rate of three per cent per annum.[35]

This act settled the troublesome state debt question, but for two or three campaigns the Republicans continued to "deplore and view with alarm."[36]

Another topic which the Republicans almost lifted to a political issue was immigration. Tennesseans and more especially East Tennesseans throughout the period since the Civil War have wanted immigrants. Shortly after the war, the bid for immigrants was official on the part of the state. When "Parson" Brownlow returned to Tennessee in 1863, he began advocating immigration. He seemed to agree with the contention of some that the war left East Tennessee with a depleted population and that it should be replenished by loyal northerners.[37] Brownlow wanted northern immigrants for many reasons, especially because they would vote the Radical ticket. Brownlow felt that Tennessee offered inducement to both capital and labor, but he was far more interested in capital. An "increase in capital would, if taxes were increased, help to pay the state debt." It was during his régime that bureaus were incorporated and state aid given them to bring in immigrants. A commissioner was appointed to promote the work. The commissioner, Reverend Hermann Bokum, wrote a book and did other things to attract immigrants to the state, especially to East Tennessee.[38] These promoters contended that East Tennessee offered all the "advantages of choice and monopoly of a *New State.*" They were interested, too, in industry of any sort far more than they were interested in agriculture.[39]

Always the question of immigration had a political slant to it. When Grant became president, Brownlow said his election "means peace; it means that carpetbaggers are not to be molested in Tennessee; that capital, coming to us from abroad, whether of brains, or hands, or money, is not to be spurned, proscribed, and persecuted, because it comes from north of a given line."[40] On another occasion, he said: "We are not afraid of the politics of all the immigrants who will come to Tennessee. They are neither

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[35]*Acts of Tenn.*, 43 General Assembly, 1883, pp. 76-84.

[36]Landis to L. C. Houk, March 14, 1884; N. A. Patterson to L. C. Houk, July 26, 1884, Houk MSS.

[37]W. B. Hesseltine, "Tennessee's Invitation to Carpet-Baggers," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 4 (1932), 102-03.

[38]*Ibid.*, 106-09.

[39]*Ibid.*, 114.

[40]*Ibid.*, 113, quoting an unnamed paper.

such fools nor so corrupt as to cast their fortunes with the restless, unhappy party which calls itself Conservative, or Democratic. We say let them come. . . ."[41]

When Tennesseans gave immigrants surly treatment, they found themselves in conflict with Brownlow, who advocated that adjustments be made to suit newcomers. "Carpetbaggers who don't like the situation, have the privilege of staying where they are, and of making this situation as nearly what they would have it as they can. This is their right . . . [and] if old residents don't like the situation, they have the right to turn carpetbagger themselves."[42] This controversy, which began with the advocacy of immigration at the close of the war, lasted on to the end of the century. From time to time the *Journal*, after it came into existence in Knoxville, carried extensive articles about East Tennessee and its attractiveness.[43] These articles were designed to attract primarily capital rather than labor. During the "coal miner's war" in the early nineties, the *Journal* preached law and order and the protection of property. It stood for making Tennessee and the South a safe place for investment and it proposed to show the world that "we are not afraid to enforce law and maintain order."[44]

The desire for immigrants on the part of the Republicans was so strong that it overshadowed other and more important issues. For example, throughout the period the Republican party stood for improved public schools, but often this stand for better education was not advocated as an end in itself, but as a device to bring immigrants.

The question of improved education might have been of great importance throughout the period had it been treated seriously. From 1866 to the end of the century, Republicans supported better public education.[45] They were not alone in this, for the platforms of both parties contained planks calling for some kind of public school system or for an improved system. In 1870 the Republican party advocated "the establishment of free schools in Tennessee"

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[41]Knoxville *Whig*, January 6, 1869.

[42]*Ibid.*, February 17, 1869. The supposed quotation used by the *Whig* without naming the paper was possibly an awkward way of beginning a defense of carpetbag immigrants.

[43]Knoxville *Journal*, September 3, 1886, and at various times thereafter.

[44]*Ibid.*, July 14, 1894 and later issues, for the month of July.

[45]Joshua W. Caldwell, *Constitutional History of Tennessee* (Cincinnati, 1907), 292. Caldwell calls the school law passed by the Radicals in 1867 "perhaps the best single act that has been approved on the statute books . . . ." But more recent writers call the Act of 1873 the "parent act" of Tennessee's public school system. See David H. Briggs, "Influence of Reconstruction on Education in Tennessee" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of North Carolina, 1924), p. 84; and Robert H. White, *Tennessee, its Growth and Progress* (Nashville, 1936), 236. See also *Acts of Tennessee*, 38 General Assembly, 1873, pp. 39-51.

because this would be "the best means of bringing in new residents." They also condemned private schools and claimed "a few of the rich men want to retain these advantages for their sons, and therefore they oppose free public schools."[46] In 1872 the party stood for a "liberal and judicious system of public schools."[47] Four years later the party simply "opposed the interference with public schools by any sect or denomination. . . ."[48] In 1878 the Republicans wrote quite an elaborate plank into their platform:

> We favor a liberal system of public schools, to be supported by general state taxation, equal to the education of all children of the state, believing it an absolute necessity to the perpetuity of republican institutions. Intelligence and good government under a truly democratic form of government must go hand in hand, therefore we favor perfecting and perpetuating the common-school system on a broad and liberal basis, that a government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth.[49]

Two years later the Republicans renewed this pledge because they believed that "schoolhouses are cheaper than courthouses, and that intelligence is the mother of morality and liberty."[50]

The Republicans contended for the Blair Educational Bill in the 1880's, but forgot to mention education in their platform in 1886, when the issue might have amounted to something.[51] Not only did the party advocate schools in its platforms, but the party presses generally stood for better schools. They were, of course, far more articulate than the platforms. In 1873 the *Chronicle* listed as the first need of the state a good school law. "Woe be unto the man or the party that goes on record in opposition to such a necessity,"[52] it declared. By 1888 the *Journal* was contending that the Republican party endorsed the Blair Bill because "knowledge, virtue, education, and temperance were the corner stones of government."[53]

Neither the Republican platform nor the party leaders proposed much in the way of educational innovations. However, two of the leaders deserve at least a word of comment. They are

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[46]Knoxville *Chronicle,* December 2, 1870.
[47]*Ibid.,* September 7, 1872.
[48]*Annual Cyclopaedia,* 1876, p. 744.
[49]*Ibid.,* 1878, p. 783.
[50]*Ibid.,* 1880, p. 678.
[51]Robison, *op. cit.,* 59-60. The Blair Bill proposed to " 'extend and vitalize' the common school system of the country by distributing among the states, on the basis of illiteracy, the sum total of $120,000,000 in annual instalments covering a period of ten years." The bill was introduced in the U. S. Senate three times in the course of a few years but never passed the lower house. See *Dictionary of American Biography,* II, 335.
[52]Knoxville *Whig,* January 6, 1869; Knoxville *Chronicle,* February 22, 1873; Knoxville *Journal,* throughout October, 1888.
[53]*Ibid.,* September 1, 1888.

Judge O. P. Temple and Horace Maynard. As early as 1873, a Farmer's Convention in Knoxville with Judge Temple presiding originated the proposal that agriculture be introduced as a subject in the public schools.[54] Horace Maynard was for years a trustee of the University at Knoxville. Among the last acts of his life were attendance at some committee meetings on the business of the University.[55]

Most of the Republicans of East Tennessee as well as their Democratic contemporaries and the general population of the state sadly lacked education. For example, in L. C. Houk's long correspondence with community, county, and state Republican leaders, there is ample proof that he was almost totally uneducated. Yet his letters were classics in composition and grammatical construction compared to some he received. The following, typical not of the best nor the worst, may serve as an example of numerous letters in the Houk manuscripts: "our districts stand Claiborne Granger Union Campbell Anderson Knox Severe [Sevier] Blont [Blount] Rone [Roane] Morgan Scott I had a turable fight to hold Rone Morgan & Scott there were certain gentlemen that wanted to leave Monroe & Louden [Loudon] on the 2 & take Rone Morgan & Scott to the 3rd—but they did not suceed."[56]

The Republicans, unfortunately for the schools, were always on weak ground in contending for more adequate education, because Democratic papers invariably taunted them with the dissipation of the school fund. A typical passage which the Republicans could not successfully refute was as follows: "When Governor Harris was broken in fortune, apparently bereft of all political hope, an exile from his state, he returned to Tennessee the school fund. . . . Many then considered public money as fair game, but he was honest. When that school fund got into the hand of the Republicans . . . They stole it. Such was Republican care for the Schools!"[57] Such passages were not the whole truth, but they contained enough truth to make them difficult to answer. Even today there might be some slight controversy as to just how some two hundred thousand dollars was saved for the state school fund throughout the war.[58] So many

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[54]Knoxville *Press and Herald,* May 28, 1873.

[55]O. P. Temple, *Notable Men of Tennessee* (New York, 1912), sketch of Horace Maynard.

[56]J. W. Agee to L. C. Houk, April 15, 1882, Houk MSS. Agee was a Republican state representative from the second district.

[57]Nashville *Daily American,* October 17, 1880.

[58]White, *op. cit.,* 250-51, claims that he told the "whole story" of the "school fund" and the truth about it. He did as far as he went. White stops when he shows that Governor Harris did not steal the fund; that it was used for war purposes; that war bonds were substituted for the cash; and that at the end of the war the bonds were worthless. This is all correct. But among the assets of the bank which

of the leading Republicans were accused of being tarred with the "sacred fund" stick that for many years it was hard to find a group of leaders sufficiently large to carry on a campaign.[59] Some writers on education in the state point out that if the Republicans as a group had been really interested in better schools as an end in themselves and for better education, they could have had, within reasonable bounds, what they wanted in East Tennessee. They were in complete charge of the East Tennessee school districts and counties. But East Tennessee schools have been far from model schools throughout their history. Radical Republican rule was harmful to the "ordered development of public schools in East Tennessee" as well as the state as a whole.[60]

On taxation the two parties sometimes agreed, but not always. The Republicans were definitely opposed to a state poll tax. The Constitution calls for the payment of any poll taxes assessed, as a prerequisite to voting.[61] The Republicans have consistently opposed this provision, and they have urged that, if a poll tax is mandatory, it be set as low as possible. Although this tax was designed to keep as many Negroes as possible from voting, it also keeps many whites from voting. The difficulty is not simply the two dollars. There is a time element involved. The law provides that the tax shall be paid sixty days before any general election in which the voter wants to vote. Thus, non-property owners both white and black almost never remember to pay their poll tax unless some special issue or some live candidate is making the election interesting a considerable time before election day.[62]

On the poll tax question, which affected the party directly, the Republicans sometimes became eloquent. In 1890 they declared that the poll tax was unjust because a poor man had to pay it before he could vote, but that nothing was said to the rich man about his property tax, before he voted.[63] In 1894 they wanted the poll tax law repealed because "every citizen should carry his sovereignty under his hat and not in his pocketbook."[64] In 1872 the Republicans combined with the Johnson Democrats to get con-

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held the school fund were found assets which when salvaged from a bank in Augusta, Georgia, amounted to more than $200,000.00. This was placed in a school fund during the Brownlow regime and then "stolen" or lost by actors in the regime in connivance possibly with some bankers in Memphis. See *Senate Journal*, 1870-71, Appendix, 291-326.

[59]Nashville *Banner*, February 3, 1869.

[60]Briggs, *op. cit.*, 85 ff.; White, *op. cit.*, chapters on public school system.

[61]*Journal of the Constitutional Convention*, 1870, p. 184; *State Constitution*, Article IV, Section 1.

[62]Louisville *Courier-Journal*, April 9, 1939.

[63]*Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1888, pp. 763-64, and 1890, p. 796.

[64]*Ibid.*, 1894, p. 739.

trol of the legislature and had only this one chance to do something about the poll tax in a long period of opposition. Johnson's party was called the "poor man's party." There was enough truth in this name to make the members willing to join the Republicans in repealing the law requiring a poll tax receipt as a qualification for voting.[65] The poll tax law was re-enacted by the next legislature.

Republicans were the first to advocate a household exemption as a means of reducing and equalizing taxation. In 1888 they urged that an exemption of $1,000 be permitted for each head of a house, also that all property be assessed by a more just system. They urged both these policies again in 1890.[66] From time to time Republicans opposed the fee system by which some county officials made excessive incomes. The party, when making arguments against this system, contended that all fees, above reasonable minimum, should be turned into the county treasury.[67] The best plank in opposition to the fee system appeared in the platform of 1896.[68] Republicans, being the "outs," were willing to promise reforms in taxation, thinking this sort of platform would increase votes.

Republicans of East Tennessee sometimes tried to make the tariff an issue in the state.[69] They showed no originality on this subject, but merely fell in line with the national party's platform on the question. In the state, this was a sectional question because Middle and West Tennessee were not manufacturing districts and did not have ambitions to become manufacturing districts. East Tennessee, however, purported to be a manufacturing section and has always had ambitions to expand this interest. This being the case, they could stand for tariff and consider it a benefit, while to the rest of the state it might be actually harmful. In 1886 Republicans wrote quite a plank advocating a protective tariff, saying: "We declare it to be a high moral and political duty of our government to protect the educated laboring-man of free America from all manner of hurtful competition with the half-paid, half-fed, half-clothed, and half-educated laborers of despotic Europe. . . ."[70] Two years later, William Rule wrote Houk: "My plan would be to make the cam-

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[65] *Acts of Tennessee*, 38 General Assembly, 1873, p. 3. In East Tennessee counties and municipalities where Republicans are in complete control local poll taxes are maintained as a prerequisite for voting. The state poll tax law was repealed in February, 1943 largely by the efforts of the League of Women Voters and the leadership of Governor Prentice Cooper, but on July 3 the repeal law was declared unconstitutional by the state Supreme Court.

[66] *Annual Cyclopaedia, 1896*, p. 728.

[67] *Ibid., 1879*, p. 783.

[68] *Ibid., 1896*, p. 728.

[69] William Rule to Hon L. C. Houk, July 2, 1888, Houk MSS.

[70] *Annual Cyclopaedia, 1886*, p. 812.

paign almost solely in favor of a protective tariff . . . eschewing . . . the bloody shirt business. In Eastern Tennessee, we want to make it lively and get out the fullest possible vote, which would mean a Republican majority, east of the mountains of at least twenty thousand."[71] On the subject of taxation, as on others, the Republicans frequently wrote their platforms with an eye on the opposition. One of Houk's correspondents showed this when he wrote: "The main question this fall will be finances. The Democracy will use that argument freely and if we are not in condition to do likewise we are gone."[72]

East Tennesseans of both political faiths wanted, and still want, more industries. Industrialization was not exactly a political issue between the parties, but the question was agitated so much that to ignore it would be slighting one of the points on which the Republican editors spent much time. The *Chronicle* throughout the 1870's carried may articles on the industrial development of East Tennessee. The editor was especially enthusiastic over the iron industry in Roane and Greene counties. He always drew political morals in writing about the industries and was therefore careful to point out that they were made possible by a protective tariff.[73]

Of all the natural resources which were thought to be inducements to industry the water resources of the Tennessee River and contributing streams occupying the Appalachian Valley of East Tennessee were the greatest. But no local Republican ever dreamed of any comprehensive plan of development. The ambition of Republicans seems to have been that of securing more and more money to develop river navigation. But all the money appropriated for this purpose was not sufficient to make a beginning in solving the great problem of navigation on the Tennessee River.[74] As irony would have it, it remained for a Republican outside of the Tennessee Valley to dream the dream and for a Democratic administration at Washington to launch and complete a program of development on the Tennessee River and its tributaries. Often the local opposition to this development was from East Tennessee Republicans.[75]

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[71]William Rule to Hon. L. C. Houk, July 2, 1888, Houk MSS.

[72]S. H. Haynes to L. C. Houk, February 15, 1886, *ibid.*

[73]Knoxville *Chronicle,* November 1, 1871, ff. Following the expiration of the *Chronicle,* the Knoxville *Journal* kept up the clamor for more and more industries; see issues for the first half of 1887, and specifically August 14, 1887.

[74]Knoxville *Chronicle,* March 1, 1873.

[75]John T. Moutoux (copyrighted article), Knoxville *News-Sentinel,* February 12, 1939. East Tennessee Republicans in their Lincoln Day celebrations have often invited as their speakers men noted for their opposition to the Tennessee Valley Authority.

The Republicans owed their interest in industry to two factors. The first factor was location and resources; the second was the old Whig tradition. Many men who were Republicans after the war had formerly been Whigs; and in East Tennessee, Whigs were likely to be industrialists, even if on a small scale, rather than operators of large plantations as in the other sections of the state.[76]

There were two outstanding industrialists who not only helped to develop the section as the party wished, but dabbled in politics. There were H. Clay Evans and John T. Wilder. Both men lived in Chattanooga. Evans was a native of Pennsylvania who became an iron manufacturer of Roane and Hamilton counties. He made some money and was always interested in politics. He was prominent in all local movements for civic betterment in Chattanooga, serving several terms as a member of the school board. He had a reputation as being a public spirited man as well as an "accumulator of dollars." He was an able speaker and not only canvassed in Tennessee but often went into northern states to speak for the Republican party. He was a member of the lower house of Congress and for a while enjoyed the control of patronage in Tennessee during the Harrison administration. Evans was obnoxious to Tennessee Democrats because he supported the "Force Bill" in 1890. One Democrat paper wrote, "Whatever good qualities and accomplishments he may have, he supports the Force Bill and that puts him in his class." [77]

General Wilder, like Evans, was primarly interested in iron manufacturing. He established the Roane Iron Company in Roane County in 1867. Later Wilder established the Roane Rolling Mills of Chattanooga. He invented the turbine wheel which he manufactured in Chattanooga. Wilder traveled in Europe to study manufacturing developments and was widely recognized and acknowledged by Tennesseeans as a leading industrialist.[78] In 1876 the Republicans persuaded him to stand for Congress from the Chattanooga district. He was defeated by a small majority.[79] Although Wilder, like Evans, came near leading the Republicans to success, he, like Evans after him, helped to show that the Repub-

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[76]Robison, *op. cit.*, 21.

[77]Knoxville *Tribune*, September 1, 1892; John Trotwood Moore, *Tennessee, the Volunteer State, 1760-1923* (Nashville, 1923), 581-82. The "Force Bill," introduced by Congressman Henry Cabot Lodge in June, 1890, proposed to establish federal jurisdiction over all polling places at national elections. The bill was admittedly aimed at southern states where allegedly the Negro was kept from the polls. In Massachusetts the bill reacted in Lodge's favor supposedly and aided him in being re-elected in 1890 by an "increased majority." See *Dictionary of American Biography*, XI, 347; Knoxville *Journal and Tribune*, September 5, 1900.

[78]S. C. Williams, *General John T. Wilder* (Bloomington, 1936), 43, *et passim.*

[79]*Ibid.*, 48.

lican party was a minority party and could rarely win an election in the state regardless of the quality of leadership.

One might think that Republican East Tennessee, regularly outvoted in state elections, and certainly unable to affect national elections, would be greatly discouraged after numerous defeats at the polls and that such a minority party would be easily broken up, but such was not the case. Through the thirty year period from 1870, when the two-party system began after the war, on to the end of the century, the East Tennessee Republicans were persistently cohesive. The following brief table shows that East Tennessee

	1884		1888		1890	
	Rep.	Dem	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.
East Tenn.	49,001	30,813	60,275	35,026	39,383	26,828
Mid. Tenn.	38,083	62,397	44,842	72,499	22,126	53,297
West Tenn.	36,076	40,060	33,871	51,254	14,572	33,424

was consistently Republican by a considerable majority, while the other two sections of the state were as consistently Democratic.[80] Other years might be added to the table and the results would change for only four of the seventeen elections. In two of these four elections the Democrats carried East Tennessee because of the race issue, and in the third and fourth elections, 1880 and 1894, the Republicans carried the state. But the results of the close election of 1894 did not accrue to the Republican party, as will be seen later.

Third parties, such as the Grange, Greenback, Agricultural Wheel, Farmers Alliance, and Populist—all, at one time or another, made inroads into political parties of the state. But never did a single third party movement succeed in even threatening to break the Republican hold in the eastern end of the state.

The oldest of all the post-war movements with which the Republicans of East Tennessee or of the state might have had some dealings was the Grange. Strangely enough, this organization, which was primarily social and economic instead of political, gave its name unofficially to several agrarian political movements.[81] This movement, regarded as non-political, gained considerable strength in the state and some strength in East Tennessee in the 1870's. The state at one time boasted over a thousand Granges.[82] East Tennesseans insisted that the movement was strictly non-political. They even contended that later agrarian movements were non-political. They took this attitude, it seems, to keep from

[80]Figures for the table are found in Miller, *op. cit.*, 257-59 and 278-80.
[81]Solon J. Buck, *The Agrarian Crusade* (New Haven, 1921), 1-11.
[82]Robison, *op. cit.*, 135.

supporting any but the regular Republican nominees. One original Granger of Anderson County wrote: "[The movement] is under no obligation to any church or political party." There is no proof "that a Republican is under obligation to support [any Democrat]. . . . There is no politics in the order and we all understand it."[83]

East Tennessee Republican party organs had no inclination to think of the Grange as a political substitute for the Republican party. As one reads the Republican party organs from week to week, it is rather astonishing to notice the lack of any mention of the Grange, while almost every county, if not every county, in East Tennessee had Grange organizations. Some of them were strong organizations.[84] When the Grange was given notice at all it was usually the merest mention. For instance, one Knoxville paper noted that the Grange had adopted a new constitution, and that their meeting was orderly. They were a "temperance group," the paper reported.[85]

Individual Republican correspondents writing to the *Chronicle* did, now and then, give the idea that people throughout the counties were all members of the Grange and that they were on the verge of becoming active politically. A Jonesboro writer, signing himself as the "Second District Ranger," reported to the *Chronicle*:

> The first thing of importance is the farmer's movement. They exhibit a strong disposition in this section to take into their own hands, what they consider the reigns of government, to the entire exclusion of all other classes. This move is considered by some of our best men (farmers of course) the death knell of the Grange organization in East Tennessee, which is composed exclusively of farmers. Such a move by the Grangers of East Tennessee, who are so few in number, considering the voting population in the counties where they are the strongest, would be political suicide.[86]

This writer was simply saying that even if the farmers did see fit to turn the Grange into a political party, with the idea, of course, of voting some ticket other than the Republican, he and his kind (not farmers) would stand by the Republican party, and the Grangers by drawing away would be committing political suicide.

The Greenback movement, unlike the Grange, was from the start political in nature. In five different campaigns there was a Greenback candidate in the field, but never did the party become strong enough to affect the results of the elections.[87] The Green-

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[83]W. M. Clark to L. C. Houk, August 16, 1890, Houk MSS. This writer referred to the Populist movement.
[84]Knoxville *Chronicle,* May 23, and June 17, and *passim.,* 1874.
[85]Knoxville *Press and Herald,* February 24, 1874.
[86]Knoxville *Chronicle,* May 23, 1874.
[87]*Ibid.;* Robison, *op. cit.,* 136-43.

backers nominated their candidate for governor in 1874.[88] No Greenbacker was nominated in 1876, but for the next four elections a nominee was presented. W. G. Brownlow blessed their movement by saying, "Wise and moderate expansion, to bring the volume of our currency to the measure of our needs, is the talisman of safety, peace, and unhindered development."[89] But Brownlow's Republican neighbors did not follow him in his brief excursion into the Greenback field in 1874. Even he, himself, vacillated in this policy.

In the 1878 campaign, the *Chronicle*—no longer influenced by Brownlow, for he had been removed by death—stood firmly against the Greenbackers, criticizing them on various points. It pointed out that all prices, those of commodities as well as wages, had gone down since 1873 and therefore there was no need for greenbacks.[90] It further contended that the Greenbackers and Communists were closely related and all "stemmed from the Democratic party." By September the paper was boasting that it had given attention to all three platforms and had discussed them carefully. With reference to the Greenback party and its candidate it concluded that, "so far as the election of the governor is concerned, it has nothing to do with Greeenbacks or Anti-Greenbacks. This is a question with which a governor has nothing whatever to do. . . ."[91] When the votes had been counted in November and the Greenback party had received only 15,155 votes, East Tennessee Republicans felt, if their paper can be trusted, that the "most interesting feature of Tuesday's results is the stand taken by the people on the money question. They have put a quietus to the irredeemable paper scheme."[92]

The story for 1880 and 1882 is similar to the one of 1878. The Republicans were by 1880 definitely committed to a policy of resumption and contraction, and were fast-bound to a program of saving the state credit. The Greenback party attracted less and less attention as the year 1880 went by. The leading Republican paper of East Tennessee finally, in the excitement of electing a candidate in the state, as well as filling each issue full of national campaign material, lost sight of the Greenbackers completely. In the campaign of 1882, the *Chronicle* lent its support in an attempt to bring about the re-election of Hawkins.

The columns of the *Chronicle* may show how the Republicans of East Tennessee felt toward the Greenbackers while a few figures

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[88]Election Returns, Secretary of State's Office, Nashville.
[89]*Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 1 Sess., 1873, pp. 776-77.
[90]Knoxville *Chronicle*, August 23, 1878.
[91]*Ibid.*, September 3, 1878.
[92]*Ibid.*, November 7, 1878.

from the election returns will show even clearer how they voted. In 1874 B. F. D. Brooks, Greenbacker, received 222 votes in the state and in Republican East Tennessee 35 votes. Four years later W. M. Edwards made his first campaign as a Greenbacker and received 15,155 votes in the state and 1,008 in East Tennessee. Two years later, in 1880, the same man received 3,459 votes in the state and 491 in Republican East Tennessee. In the next campaign, John R. Beasley, such a clever campaigner that he could be "well received" in East Tennessee, secured 9,660 votes, of which 708 came from East Tennessee. Then Buchanan, the last Greenback candidate in Tennessee, was able to inveigle 28 East Tennesseans to help him secure a total state vote of 549.[93] The average Republican vote for East Tennessee in all these elections was 26,500.

East Tennessee Republicans had a natural affiliation with the next third-party movement—the Prohibitionist movement. The eastern end of the state is politically "dry." The first test on the question of prohibition in Tennessee came in 1887. There was a state-wide election in that year on the matter of adding to the constitution an amendment that would prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages.[94] The state voted this amendment down by a fair majority, 145,198 to 117,504, but in East Tennessee the vote was 41,847 in favor of the amendment to 30,638 opposed to its adoption.[95] Here then was a section strongly Republican and strongly Prohibitionist. Prohibition as a party issue had its first test in the year 1888, when J. C. Johnson, a former Democrat, made the race for governor on the Prohibitionist ticket. In East Tennessee the Democrats seemingly paid more attention to bolting Democrats than Republican leaders paid to possible bolters, because of a "dry" predilection in the Republican party. Both the Democratic and Republican organs of Knoxville gave little attention to the Prohibition party. The Republican Knoxville *Journal* dismissed the prohibition possibilities with two short comments. In the first instance, it published a letter from a preacher in North Carolina which told of how he had been a Prohibitionist and had withdrawn from the party and was now condemning the party movement. The *Journal* later commented that "the Prohibition ticket, with its candidates for Vice-President, boasting that he was a rebel and a Democrat—but thanking God that he was never

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[93]Election Returns, Secretary of State's Office, Nashville; the candidate, platforms and results are given in the *Annual Cyclopaedia* for all the years except 1884, when the party is not mentioned.

[94]Almira E. Jewell, "The Prohibition Movement in Tennessee" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Virginia, 1930), 41.

[95]Election Returns, Secretary of State's Office, Nashville.

a Republican—will not get many votes in this section." The paper was correct. When the campaign was over, Johnson had received a total of 6,843 votes, with only 1,615 of them coming from East Tennessee.[96]

In 1890 the Prohibition party nominated David C. Kelly.[97] Kelly made a stronger race than Johnson had two years earlier. Presumably the party was growing. But the *Journal* almost completely ignored the Prohibitionists throughout the whole campaign. On the day following the election, it said: "Dr. Kelly succeeded in 'stringing up the boys' oftener and more thoroughly than any other man in the race. . . . Dr. Kelly is by no means a nonentity."[98] Kelly received 11,082 votes, of which 2,220 came from East Tennessee. After 1890, the Prohibition party lost strength and was never near a tie-up with the Republicans until 1910.[99]

The Agricultural Wheel and the Farmer's Alliance were the next organizations to tempt the Republicans. These two movements came to Tennessee about the same time and by 1889 were working together, but not of sufficient strength to be taken seriously as a third party. Hence, at first only slight consideration was given either or both of these organizations as possible fusion elements for the Republicans. As the election of 1890 approached, it looked to some Republicans as though the Alliance movement would divide the Democrats. Such a contingency the Republicans had long hoped for. They felt that the Bourbon Democrats and the "Wool hat boys" (the followers of the Alliance) ought never to work in harmony. At least twice before 1890, the Democratic party had split along this same line; first, in 1872, when Andrew Johnson campaigned against the "Brigadier-generals," and again, but to a lesser degree, in 1886, when "Bob" Taylor, successor to Andrew Johnson as leader of the "small farmer element"[100] in the Democratic party, led the party to victory.

In 1890 the Republicans faced a real opportunity to become a majority party because of the peculiar situation in the Democratic party. Since the day of reconstruction there had been three more or less distinct factions in the Democratic party. Often these factions had threatened to disrupt the party, and now in 1890 it seemed, especially to wishful-thinking Republicans, that the time for the

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[96]Knoxville *Journal*, September 20, 1888; Election Returns, Secretary of State's Office, Nashville.

[97]*Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, p. 796.

[98]Knoxville *Journal*, November 5, 1890.

[99]In 1910 Ben W. Hooper, Republican and prohibitionist, was elected and served two terms.

[100]Robison, *op. cit.*, 32ff., *passim*.

explosion had arrived. The most powerful and influential of these factions was the group of so-called Bourbons, or as Andrew Johnson labelled them, the Brigadier-generals. The second group, influential but never dominant, was made up of the old-line Whigs. The third faction, and the most numerous, was the small farmer element in the state. These were the "Wool hat boys."[101]

The Alliance movement captured the "Wool hat boys" by 1890 and with them the Democratic party for one campaign and took a two year turn at the governorship.[102] In this year again, as in 1874, the Republicans found themselves standing for a national party platform which approved a civil rights measure, this time the Lodge Bill, called throughout the South the "Force Bill."

How clearly the Republican leaders saw the whole situation cannot be fully known. Some considered forming a combination with the Alliance, while others thought the party had no chance in 1890, and were willing to consolidate for 1892.[103] Some Republicans as late as August professed to believe that the Alliance was non-political; hence, they were in no sense obligated to vote for John B. Buchanan, the Democratic-ne-Alliance candidate. The Republicans in the agrarian organization seem to have been more anxious than others to be non-political,[104] because they were more firmly tied to their party. It is fairly obvious why the Republicans did not line up with this third-party movement. The new party took over the Democratic organization and became a Democratic party in 1890, if not the Democratic party. The Republicans came near making an agreement with the Populist party in 1892. But this effort more than the others was a disastrous failure.

As the plans for the primaries moved along slowly, in 1892, more and more dissatisfied Alliance-Democrats became followers of the People's or Populist party. Bourbon Democrats gained control of the old-line Democratic party. Buchanan, realizing this development, withdrew his name and left the field to Judge Peter Turney, the Bourbon candidate. On August 15, due to the insistent demand of "Buchanan Democrats," Populists and Alliance men, Buchanan announced himself as an independent candidate. The Republicans nominated George W. Winstead and

[101]*Ibid.*, 15-21; Daniel Robison, "Tennessee's War of Roses," in East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 5 (1933), 125-41; J. A. Sharp, "Entrance of Farmer's Alliance into Tennessee Politics," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 9 (1937), 80.

[102]John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (Minneapolis, 1931), 243

[103]J. W. Baker to L. C. Houk, May 26, 1890, Houk Mss.

[104]W. M. Clark to Hon. L. C. Houk, August 16, 1890, *ibid.*

wrote a platform not greatly different from the Democratic or from the third-party platform so far as state issues were concerned.[105] The Tennessee Republicans might fall in line, since throughout the South, in 1892, the Republicans and Populists were pretty generally united and pitted against the Democratic party.[106]

Many charges were bandied back and forth, one of the most persistent being that the Republicans were planning to withdraw from the gubernatorial race and throw their support to Buchanan. In return, it was alleged, the Republicans were to receive support from the "Independents and Populists for their Presidential candidate, Benjamin Harrison."[107] A second charge was to the effect that the Republicans and Populists had formed a combination. As the campaign neared its half-way mark, both parties admitted that they had an understanding on congressional and legislative candidates. Young John C. Houk, not so experienced in political ways as his father had been, wrote:

> The understanding with the third party is that in all the other 7 Congressional Districts (the first arranged for satisfactorily) our people will clear the field in favor of the 3rd party candidate for Congress in consideration of the help the 3rd party will give us for our candidate for Governor and our electorial ticket. . . .
>
> In counties that went Democratic in 1888 we are giving the 3rd party the right of way. In counties that went Republican in 1888 we are sidetracking, by mutual understanding, the 3rd party candidate.
>
> This contract was entered into deliberately and with sincerity and so far as I have been able to observe is being carried out to the letter.[108]

Before election day arrived, the Republicans had some misgivings and finally regretted their bargain. On October 1 Houk wrote:

> You will observe from the enclosed clipping that McDowell has not yet cleared the field in this county [Knox]. . . .
>
> Unless the 3rd party carries out its part of the understanding and clears the field for us here we expect to open a vigorous attack from the newspapers and from the stump against that party, and charge that it is being used in the interest of the Democratic party in this section.[109]

The end came like a bombshell on October 23, 1892, when the whole story of the "deal" came to light in the form of two letters which had been exchanged on the subject by two prominent Republicans. The letters were published in all Democratic newspapers of the state and carried for days by those papers in prominent places so that even "those who ran might read" about the "awful fusion

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[105] *Annual Cylopaedia,* 1892, pp. 727-29.
[106] Hicks, *op. cit.,* 246.
[107] Sharp, "Farmers Alliance and People's Party in Tennessee," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 10 (1938), 105.
[108] John C. Houk to Senator Anthony Higgins, September 23, 1892, Houk Mss.
[109] John C. Houk to Hon. J. W. Baker, October 1, 1892, *ibid.*

agreement between the Republicans and the Populists." The writers were Joseph J. Ivins, editor of the Knoxville *Republican*, and D. W. Hill, Republican national committeeman for Tennessee. According to Ivins, the Republican national committee agreed to pay McDowell $15,000 in exchange for bringing Buchanan into the contest, for giving the Republicans a clear field for the Harrison electoral ticket, and for aiding the Republicans in electing congressmen and legislators. But the $15,000 was not all. McDowell had been promised election to the United States Senate if and when the Republicans and Populists got control of the legislature. It was further understood that should there be a combination legislature, it would aid the Republicans by repealing the election laws which the Republicans thought kept them from having "permanent control of the state."[110]

Ivins expressed the disgust felt by most Republicans after the exposure of their bargain with the Populists: "[This is a] remarkable predicament we find ourselves in with a man of insatiable greed, unblushing corruption, and the most determined political perfidy; a man who can command and be paid money without stint, and whom we, as Republicans, have agreed to put in the United States Senate, to the everlasting disgrace of Tennessee . . . ." Such actions Ivins thought would mean the ruin of Republican hopes in the state and in the South. "The question with me," he said, "is whether we are not equally guilty with McDowell unless we expose him boldly and denounce the whole scheme, and whether the temporary advantage we gain will not work permanent damnation" to the Republicans of Tennessee.[111]

It was too late to be sorry, for the Democratic national committee had circulated the whole story with some embellishments in a campaign document.[112] The Democratic press let no one forget about the "Republican bribery" or the "treacherous McDowell." One of Houk's correspondents, A. G. Matthews, summed up the situation by writing that "Hell has now been played. The Ivins-Hill letters have shut out the last ray of hope for Harrison—Winstead & a combination legislature."[113] If Matthews spoke for Middle Tennessee Republicans, one W. R. French of Blount County spoke for East Tennessee Republicans: "The Republicans is all soled for the party in this part. There will not be much chraching [scratching]

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[110]Sharp, "Farmers' Alliance and People's Party," *loc. cit.*, 106.
[111]*Ibid.*
[112]*Ibid.*, citing J. B. Brownlow to O. P. Temple, November 13, 1892.
[113]A. G. Matthews to Jno. Houk, October 24, 1892, Houk MSS. Matthews is quoting a West Tennessee Republican who had talked or written to him on the subject.

done here. No Tailes that the Dimocrats can start won't have no affect on old Blount."[114]

The denouement of this attempt of the Republicans to align with a third party consisted of general denials on the part of all concerned. Now that some of their leaders had been exposed, Republicans were all but ready to concede defeat. From almost all sides came notes of discouragement. One man wrote: "I read the Chattanooga *Times* with astonishment . . . ."[115] Another wrote to J. C. Houk, "We had things beat bad here [Wartburg] but if this proves to be true it will drive the Third Party back to the Democrats.[116] In the election, the Bourbon Democrats with Peter Turney as candidate won with 126,348 votes to 100,577 for Winstead, and 29,918 for Buchanan.[117]

Though this attempted coalition of the Republican and Populist parties was a failure and an embarrassment to many Republicans, it did not prevent a second attempt two years later. The Republicans and Populists agreed on judicial candidates in the spring of 1894. Later in the year, A. L. Mims was nominated for the governorship by the Populists, who wrote a platform on which the Republicans might have stood, for it scored the Democrats for the state debt, and for "inquitous election laws."[118] But Republicans refused to accept the Populist candidate and platform. They nominated the defeated congressman, H. Clay Evans, of the third district, for the governorship. The Republicans used the third-party movement as far as they could in this election to defeat the Democrats. The coalition, as planned, was to capture the legislature; Republicans were to vote for Populists in certain counties, and Populists for Republicans in other counties. Republican papers were well pleased with this arrangement, because there were not "many Populists in East Tennessee" and therefore the Republicans were the accepted group there.[119]

The outcome of the whole thing was that on the face of the returns Evans was elected. The vote for Evans was 105,104 and

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[114]W. R. French to John C. Houk, November 1, 1892, *ibid.* Joseph A. Sharp after considering many letters among the Houk manuscripts and many newspapers in Chattanooga and Nashville, points out that the whole bargain was exposed because the Republican political boss in the second district did not like H. Clay Evans, Republican candidate for Congress in the third district, who had every possibility of re-election because two Democrats, H. C. Snodgrass and Frank P. Dickey, were running. Snodgrass was elected. See Sharp, "Farmers' Alliance and People's Party," *loc. cit.*, 111-12.

[115]Will D. Wright to John C. Houk, October 24, 1892, Houk MSS.

[116]J. B. Riggs to John C. Houk, October 25, 1892, *ibid.*

[117]Election Returns, Secretary of State's Office, Nashville.

[118]*Annual Cyclopaedia,* 1894, pp. 738-39.

[119]Knoxville *Tribune,* October 4, 1894.

for the Democrat nominee, Peter Turney, 104,356. But the Republican-Populist fusion lost the legislature to the Democrats and the Democrats took a page out of the national political history and counted Evans out of the governorship as the Democrats claimed the Republicans had counted Samuel J. Tilden out of office in 1876.

After 1894 third parties continued to appear in the political field, but the Republicans of the state under the leadership of East Tennesseans steered clear of all entanglements. The party continued to take such positions toward state issues that it remained a minority party but with more than sufficient strength to act as something of a gadfly to the Democrats. In fact, the party was an ever-present threat and could with a strong candidate or with a split in the Democratic party win an election, especially in a gubernatorial contest, which was much easier than getting control of the legislature.

MR. JUSTICE SANFORD

By Allen E. Ragan

The people of East Tennessee in general and those of Knoxville in particular had good reason to feel elated when, on February 23, 1923, President Harding appointed one of their favorite sons, Edward Terry Sanford, an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court. To be a justice of the Supreme Court is an honor that comes to few men and one aspired to by many. It is the height of most lawyers' ambitions. Now, as always during war time, the importance of the Supreme Court is greatly overshadowed by the executive and legislative parts of our national government. However, when peace comes, the Court will in all likelihood regain the high place in our constitutional system which it had when Sanford was one of its members.

Before plunging into Sanford's career on the Supreme Court let us sketch the highlights of his life prior to 1923. He was born in Knoxville on July 23, 1865. On his father's side he was of colonial New England stock. Records show that an ancestor, Thomas Sanford, was a resident of Dorchester, Massachussetts, as early as 1634 and later moved to Milford, Connecticut. Sanford's father, Edward J. Sanford, came from Connecticut and settled in Knoxville in 1852. He had no capital except Yankee push and thrift. He was a skilled carpenter with exceptional business ability and in time amassed a fortune, said to be in excess of $1,000,000, in the lumber and wholesale drug business. Sanford's mother, Emma Chavannes, was of Swiss descent but was born in the neighborhood of Knoxville.[1] Sanford was thus, in part at least, an interesting product of a northern family living in the South. It is not surprising that his father, a strong and positive character, was a Republican in politics and a person of no little influence in his day. He was the founder of a Republican daily newspaper in Knoxville.[2]

The preliminary schooling of young Sanford was in local private schools. His wealthy father was able to give him every educational advantage and the boy availed himself of his opportunities and be-

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[1]Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, (New York, 1928-1937), XVI, 349; Editorial, *Current Opinion*, April, 1923, p. 411; *New York Times*, March 9, 1930, p. 28.

[2]*New York Times*, Jan. 25, 1923, p. 5.

came a member of Phi Beta Kappa. Sanford received both an A. B. and a Ph. B. from the University of Tennessee in 1883. He went from there to Harvard where he obtained an A. B. in 1885 and four years later an M. A. and an L. L. B. In keeping with a time-honored custom followed by families of means in England and America Sanford was sent on a grand tour of the European continent which lasted for more than a year and which was to add the finishing touches to his academic training. Certainly all of this preparation was to bear fruit in full measure because Sanford not only won high place in the legal profession but was also a man of unusual culture, possessing a deep appreciation of music, literature and the fine arts. William Rule, for many years editor of the *Knoxville Journal,* is authority for the statement that Sanford as a boy demonstrated a desire to know things and to know them well and that this was an outstanding characteristic which he carried through life.[3]

A year prior to his graduation from the Harvard Law School, Sanford passed the state bar examinations in Tennessee. Following the European tour he began his legal career with a Knoxville law firm. As a young attorney he avoided criminal practice and seldom appeared in criminal court. He spent eighteen years in private practice primarily as a civil and corporation lawyer. Although a Republican, he apparently took little interest in politics. His scholastic training at Harvard, it has been said, caused him to believe in free trade and to be sympathetic toward the theories of the Manchester school in economics. However this may have been, it did not cause him to break with his father politically.[4]

The practice of law was by no means Sanford's only activity during his early career. Between 1898 and 1907 he was a regular lecturer in law at the University of Tennessee. He was interested in historical research and dug deeply into the early and legal history of his native state. According to George Fort Milton a brochure of Sanford's on the first Tennessee constitution remains a classic on the subject.[5] He had a deep and abiding interest in education and in its improvement. His interest included both public and private schools. He became a trustee of the University of Tennessee in 1897 and served until he became a member of the Supreme Court in 1923. For many years he served in a similar capacity for the George Peabody College for Teachers. The records of the Tennessee Historical Society will disclose that he was both a mem-

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[3]*Ibid.*, Feb. 4, 1933, VII, p. 4; *Dictionary of American Biography,* XVI, 347.

[4]*N. Y. Times,* Mar. 9, 1930, p. 28; George F. Milton, Jr., "Sanford—Neither Radical Nor Reactionary," *Outlook,* Feb. 14, 1923, p. 298.

[5]*Ibid.*

ber and an official of it. He was likewise a trustee of the Lawson McGhee Library and at one time or another during his very active life he served as president of the Tennessee Bar Association, as vice-president of the American Bar Association and as president of the Harvard Alumni Association.[6]

On January 6, 1891, Sanford married Lutie Malory Woodruff. There were two daughters born of this marriage. Dorothy, the older of the two, married a man by the name of Metcalf. When she died she left a young son who was a great favorite of his grandfather. The younger daughter, Mrs. George M. Cameron, was living in London at the time of Sanford's death in 1930.[7]

Apparently Sanford was never a candidate for an elective public office, yet from 1907 until 1930 he was constantly in public service. His official career began in 1907 when Captain William Rule went to Washington and successfully persuaded Theodore Roosevelt to appoint Sanford assistant United States district attorney. His occupancy of this post was brief because a much better appointment was to fall to his lot. In 1908 Sanford was made federal judge for the district of East and Middle Tennessee. The present writer unfortunately does not know what political influences were brought to bear on Roosevelt to make the latter appointment. His guess is, however, that they were similar to those in the first appointment.[8]

What, in brief, was Sanford's record of almost fifteen years on the bench? It was apparently a highly creditable one. He served unostentatiously but in a manner which won respect and esteem.

In his dealings with those who came into his court he was gentle and courteous but firm. He was never lacking in personal courage. It was not his way to be theatrical or dogmatic. Although his patriotism was most sincere, he made no extravagant display of it in his charges to juries nor did he rant in denunciation of socialism or any other ideology. The atmosphere of his court was orderly and even grave. There is no evidence that there were ever threats upon his life or that he ever needed a bodyguard. Attorneys who practiced in his court seem to have agreed that he was the most impartial judge in the South. It was no easy matter for employers to secure injunctions from him in labor disputes, and despite the fact that he was born and reared in wealth, he had a deep appreciation of the struggles of those who labored for a living as well as for unfortunate persons brought before him. Sanford's voice was

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[6]*N. Y. Times,* Mar. 9, 1930, p. 28.
[7]*Ibid.*
[8]*Current Opinion, loc. cit.*

full and firm but he never used harsh or overbearing language in his court room.[9]

In the drawing up of legal documents Sanford was most exacting in his requirements. A member of the Greeneville bar told the writer of this paper that Judge Sanford once requested an attorney to write a document five times before it was accepted. Sanford knew well the history and spirit of American institutions. His talks to those seeking naturalization papers are reported to have been phrased in clear, simple, but beautiful English. If the testimony of those who knew Sanford as a federal district judge can be accepted, he possessed many of the characteristics of an ideal judge. He was open minded, scrupulously fair, deliberate, unemotional and never stampeded into hasty action. While on the bench he observed a monastic seclusion. That is, he refused to associate socially with members of the bar so that he might avoid criticism of favoritism or partiality. He was most attentive in listening to argument or testimony and always meticulously guarded the right of defendants. When sitting with other judges on the Circuit Court of Appeals, he reached his own decisions and was not unduly influenced by the thinking of other judges. The only criticism of Sanford that the author has seen is that he was often too deliberative and his decisions were too long delayed.[10] Thus, he contributed to one of the most prevalent short-comings of the American court system—the crowded docket and the slowness of the judicial process.

Nevertheless, Judge Sanford was in sympathy with the enforcement of moral and social legislation, and if not a thoroughgoing liberal, at least he may be classified as a liberal-conservative. Perhaps he might be better characterized as a conservative with progressive tendencies. The liberal editor and historian, George Fort Milton, whose opinion of Sanford could not have been far from the mark, wrote of him in 1923, "I believe it may be said that as a judge he has been both progressive and conservative; he aims to keep abreast of the times and the changing conditions of society, but desires to do so without losing hold on fundamentals."[11]

There do not seem to have been many cases which came before Judge Sanford's court which attracted widespread attention. Most of them were of a private character. He must have handled a considerable number of bankruptcy cases because when he was promoted to the Supreme Court, he was requested by the Chief Justice to write quite a number of opinions involving bankruptcy.

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[9]*Milton, op. ct.; The Independent, loc. cit.*
[10]*Milton, op. cit.; Dictionary of American Biography,* XVI, 347.
[11]"The New Justice from Tennessee," *The Independent,* Feb. 17, 1923, p. 117.

Two of his decisions on the district court give some idea of Sanford's social outlook. The first reveals that he believed that the state should have considerable authority in regulating private property in the public interest, and the second that he was pretty much a legalist. The state of Tennessee was attempting to make the Cumberland Telephone and Telegraph Company give a valuation of its property for rate-fixing purposes. The company attempted to get an injunction from Sanford preventing it on the grounds of confiscation of property without due process. Sanford refused the writ and upheld the authority of the state to regulate public utilities. The second case attracted considerable public notice because the federal government tried to restrain the Coca-Cola companies from producing a drink alleged to be both injurious and habit forming. It is probable that Sanford's sympathies were with the government; nevertheless, he upheld the companies because he felt that government attorneys had failed to submit sufficient evidence. The case was appealed, but, as was usual, Sanford's opinion was upheld by the higher court.[12]

Let us now turn to the main theme of this study—Sanford's Supreme Court career. How does one account for his selection to the post? It is only true in a technical sense that he was appointed by President Warren G. Harding. In reality Chief Justice William Howard Taft was responsible for the choice. Taft's idea was that the federal courts provided the best material from which to draw new justices for the Supreme Court. Taft's life-long interest was in the improvement of the personnel and procedure of the whole federal court system and while chief justice his accomplishments were significant along that line.[13]

Sanford and Taft were warm friends, a friendship which probably went back to the time when the latter was on the Circuit Court of Appeals of the Sixth District. During World War I Sanford had been active in Taft's League to Enforce Peace and when the League of Nations was first being advocated he had made speeches in its support. Later, however, when the Republican party opposed the League, Sanford ceased publicly to advocate it.[14] There was some criticism of Taft for interfering with judicial appointments, but in defense it was said that the President could not make appointments by inspiration and who better could he have turned to than to the Chief Justice?[15]

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[12]*Ibid.*

[13]See the author's *Chief Justice Taft* (Columbus, 1938).

[14]*Current Opinion, loc. cit.*

[15]Editorial, "A New Way to Pick Judges," *Literary Digest*, Feb. 10, 1923, p. 16; *N. Y. Times*, Jan. 6, 1923, p. 3.

At least two other men had some support by members of Congress from various sections. Guy D. Goff, son of Senator Goff and assistant to Attorney General H. M. Daugherty on war fraud cases, was one of these and Justice von Moschzisker of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court was another.[16] It was believed, however, that Taft's recommendation would be followed even though Tennessee already had one member on the Supreme Court, and so it turned out. Sanford's nomination came on January 24 and was immediately referred to the Senate Judiciary Committee which soon gave its unanimous approval. The appointment was confirmed by the Senate on January 29.[17] Sanford was sworn in on Febuary 19. The oath was administered by the Chief Justice and the new justice took his place on the nation's highest court.[18]

How was the appointment received by the country? If press comment may be accepted as representative of public opinion, Sanford's selection was well received. According to the Democratic Louisville *Courier-Journal,* "the President could not have made a better choice." The Philadelphia *Public Ledger* wrote: "a man of great legal ability and of unimpeachable character." The comment of the *Pitstburgh Post* was: "the standard of our highest Court will be maintained." Other press opinion was in a similiar vein.[19] These were times, however, when the Supreme Court was subjected to the hostile criticism of liberals for the reactionary character of some of its decisions, and the previous Harding appointees, Taft, George Sutherland and Pierce Butler, were bitterly attacked as defenders of big business. It will be recalled that in the campaign of 1924 the R. M. LaFollette forces demanded drastic curtailment of the powers of the Supreme Court.[20] In an effort to allay liberal fears relative to the Sanford appointment, one southern editor wrote, Edward Terry Sanford is not an Anderson nor a Landis, nor is he a Sutherland or a Butler. The fears of liberals on this point may as well be stilled. He is more of the mental stripe of Mr. Justice Holmes than of Mr. Justice Brandeis; yet his openness of mind, breadth of culture, and innate liberalism of thought class him, in my mind, as a distinctly valuable addition to the Supreme bench. He possesses what I would call a justiciable mind.[21]

Let us now turn to Sanford's Supreme Court record and see what this handsome, broad-shouldered Tennesseean with grey-tinged beard and striking presence did as one of the "nine old men" on the nation's highest court. All told, Sanford wrote 130 opinions,

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[16]*N. Y. Times,* Jan. 6, 1923, p. 23, Jan. 12, 1923, p. 10.
[17]*Ibid.,* Jan. 30, 1923, p. 16.
[18]*Ibid.,* Feb. 20, 1923.
[19]*Literary Digest, loc. cit.; N. Y. Times,* Jan. 7, 1923, II, p. 4.
[20]Ragan, *op. cit.,* chap. 11.
[21]Milton, *op. cit.,* 298.

only a few of which were of particular constitutional importance. He will not be judged alone on a basis of those few but also upon significant opinions to which he concurred or dissented.

One of the opinions written by Sanford most interesting to the student of constitutional history was the one interpreting the meaning of that part of paragraph two of section seven of the Constitution, which reads: "If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sunday excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law." A study of Sanford's opinion indicates that he engaged in no little amount of research in its preparation. It was the contention of petitioners in the case that adjournment meant the final one of a particular Congress and not the one between a long and short session. Furthermore, that after the long session adjourned, the President could return a vetoed bill to an appropriate congressional officer in order that it might be taken up again in the short session. It was also argued that the phrase "within ten days" meant legislative days and not calendar days.

In his lengthy opinion, which expressed the unanimous decision of the Court, Sanford quoted freely from the opinions of attorney generals, from the records of Congress and from Supreme Court decisions which had an indirect bearing on the vase. There were none of the latter that bore directly on the case at bar, nor, according to the Justice, were the debates in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 of any assistance. The ground to be plowed was virgin soil and it was thoroughly plowed. Sanford was deeply impressed with the significance of the veto power. His reasoning, briefly summarized, was as follows: time was necessary to decide whether a bill should be signed or vetoed. That was the purpose of the "ten days" clause. The President could not be held responsible for the failure of a bill to become a law if Congress adjourned before he had had sufficient time for its consideration. The word "days" when not quilified means in ordinary and common usage calendar days. This is obviously the meaning in which it is used in the constitutional provision, and is emphasized by the fact that "Sundays" are excepted.[22] He contended that adjournment did not mean final adjournment because the word was not so qualified and that the determining factor as to the meaning of adjournment was whether it was one which prevented the President from returning the bill to Congress in the allotted time. As to the point that the President might return an unsigned bill to some officer of Congress when that

[22]The Pocket Veto Case, 279 *U. S. Reports*, 679.

body was in adjournment, he held that the return of the bill should be an actual and public return to the Congress itself. Toward the end of his scholarly opinion Sanford gave the clue to his interpretation when he asserted, "Long settled and established practice is a consideration of great weight in a proper interpretation of constitutional provisions of this character." Thus in this manner the "pocket veto" provision of the Constitution was at long last given a definitive interpretation.[23]

Before the repeal of the famous or infamous (depending on your point of view) Eighteenth Amendment, the dockets of the federal courts were jammed with prohibition cases. Not a few such cases finally found their way to the Supreme Court because that Court must give a final interpretation of the meaning and scope of any federal statute when the lower courts are in disagreement and when constitutionality is an issue. Naturally, Sanford sat in judgment on many such cases and his views are of interest. Since brevity is imperative we shall review only a few illustrative cases.

That Sanford displayed a marked zeal for prohibition enforcement there can be no doubt. On occasion he was willing to go to greater limits than the other justices in upholding the validity of acts of prohibition agents. For example, he voted with the majority holding that the stopping and searching of an automobile on the public highway by officials without a warrant, if the officers believed that the vehicle contained liquor, was not a violation of the guarantee against unreasonable searches and seizures. The comment of another Tennesseean on the Court, who made quite a reputation for dissenting opinions, should be of interest to this audience. Justice James C. McReynolds wrote in part, "The damnable character of the 'bootlegger's' business should not close our eyes to the mischief which will surely follow any attempts to destroy it by unwarranted methods. . .".[24] Furthermore, Sanford stood with the majority in a five to four decision upholding the legality of evidence obtained by enforcement officials by tapping the private telephone wires of a bootlegging ring operating in the state of Washington.[25] There were limits, however, to which Sanford would not go in upholding prohibition enforcement. In 1927 he and his brethren on the Court declared a part of an Ohio statute as a denial of due process of law. The law permitted village officials to arrest violators anywhere in the county. The violators could be brought before a mayor's court, and if that official voted for conviction he received a twelve dollar

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[23]*Ibid.*, 689.
[24]Carroll *et al. v.* U. S., 267 U. S. 132.
[25]Olmstead *et al. v.* U. S., 277 U. S. 438.

fee, but nothing for acquittal. The practice was plainly a perversion of justice and was more than Sanford's legal-mindedness could stand.[26]

If Sanford did not establish a reputation for dissenting while on the Supreme Court, he did, nevertheless, take issue with the majority at times when their opinions ran counter to his own convictions. In 1929, shortly after our government had played a leading role in the Paris Peace Pact renouncing war, the Supreme Court denied citizenship to an educated Quakeress from Hungary as she was a pacifist. Her application was denied because she said that she would not bear arms in defense of the country. To this decision Sanford wrote only a brief dissent saying that the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals in favor of the woman should be upheld. The decision aroused quite a bit of press notice. The editorial comment of the *New York Times* is representative of criticism as expressed by the press in general: "It is a little anomolous that a countty which has just renounced war should exclude from its citizenship a person whose chief offense is her opposition to war."[27]

Justice Butler had written the majority decision denying citizenship to the pacifist Hungarian Quakeress in the case just briefly reviewed. His main argument had been that the Quakeress would be an undesirable citizen because she might teach her ideas to others and thus endanger the foundations of our government. If Sanford did not share this particular fear, he was fearful of the spread of radical socialism. In June, 1925, he wrote the Court's majority opinion upholding the criminal anarchy law of New York State. The defendant, Benjamin Gitlow, was a leader of the left wing section of the Socialist party and helped in the publication of a paper, *The Revolutionary Age*, which advocated revolutionary mass action and proletarian dictatorship.[28]

Sanford's opinion was long and amply fortified with citations. It would be widely acclaimed today by liberal and conservative alike, but in 1925 liberals felt no danger from foreign isms and considered Sanford's opinion a denial of free speech and free press. We can do no better than to give a few quotations from Sanford's statement: It is a fundamental principle, long established, that the freedom of speech and of the press which is secured by the Constitution, does not confer an absolute right to speak or publish, without responsibility, whatever one may choose, or an unrestricted and unbridled licence that gives immunity for every possible use of language and prevents the punishment of those who

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[26]Tumey *v.* Ohio, 273 U. S. 510.

[27]May 29, 1929, p. 30; U. S. *v.* Schummer, 279 U. S. 644; *Outlook*, June 12, 1929, p. 250; *New Republic*, June 12, 1929. Oliver Wendell Holmes and Louis D. Brandeis also dissented.

[28]Gitlow *v.* People of New York, 268 U. S. 652.

abuse this freedom. . . . That a state in the exercise of its police power may punish those who abuse this freedom by utterances inimical to the public welfare, tending to corrupt public morals, incite to crime, or disturb the public peace, is not open to question.[29]

In short, this freedom did not deprive a state of the primary and essential right of self preservation and which could not be denied as long as human governments endured.[30]

Both Holmes and Brandeis dissented on the grounds that the radical Socialist publication was not an inducement to uprising against the government at once but at some indefinite future time. If was not, therefore, a dangerous exercise of publication. Officers of the American Civil Liberties Union expressed the view that the decision would lead to the validation of all the criminal syndicalist and sedition laws which were passed during and after the World War.[31] Two years later Sanford took a similar position on anti-syndicalist legislation when he wrote the Court's opinion upholding a California law. He denied that the act violated due process because of vagueness or uncertainty of definition or that it was class legislation or was repugnant to freedom of speech, press or assembly. Citing his opposition in the Gitlow case he reiterated that freedom of speech did not confer an absolute right to speak as one chose and that a state may punish unbridled utterances inimical to the public peace and welfare.[32] As consistent as Sanford was in sustaining the constitutionality of state legislation against those who advocated the overthrow of capitalist society by force, he was meticulous in seeing that due process of law was given to those charged with violation of such legislation. This is evidenced by his opinion in a Kansas case where state officials had failed to present evidence showing that an I. W. W. organizer had advocated crime or violence in overthrowing the prevailing social order.[33]

Not a little of the criticism against the Supreme Court during the past generation has been due to its decisions affecting labor. Sanford wrote no important labor decisions but some significant ones were made while he was a member of the Court. His views on the secondary labor boycott were indicated when he voted with the majority in 1927 in the well-known Bedford Cut Stone Company case declaring the secondary labor boycott to be a violation of the federal anti-trust laws. The chief issue in this case was whether a national union could legally forbid its members to lay stone that had been

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[29]*Ibid.*, 666-67.
[30]*Ibid.*, 667.
[31]N. Y. *Times*, June 9, 1925, p. 9.
[32]Whitney *v.* California, 274 U. S. 357.
[33]Fiske *v.* Kansas, 274 U. S. 380.

cut by a company that the union considered unfair to labor.[34] Sanford also subscribed to the Supreme Court holding that the funds of national labor unions could be held liable for damages sustained in strikes if it could be proved that officers of the national union were responsible for the calling of the strike.[35] Even though Sanford's views on labor tended in the conservative direction, it does not follow that he was a thoroughgoing conservative in this respect. He wrote several decsions involving working men's compensation laws which indicate his sympathy for such legislation.[36] Probably his outstanding exhibition of liberalism on social legislation was when he agreed to Taft's dissenting opinion in the District of Columbia Minimum Wage case in 1932. In a five to three decision the Court declared that a federal minimum wage law for women in the District of Columbia was unconstitutional. Taft's view, to which Sanford subscribed, was that either on the basis of reason, experience or authority, the boundary of the police power should not be drawn to include maximum hours and exclude a minimum wage. It will be recalled that on several occasions state maximum hour laws had been upheld and Taft and Sanford held that these constituted sufficient precedents for upholding minimum wage laws.[37]

It goes almost without saying that no federal regulatory legislation has attracted more attention than the Sherman Anti-Trust Law of 1890 and the Clayton and Federal Trade Commission acts passed in the first Wilson administration in order to strengthen the Sherman Act. What were Sanford's views on these acts and the attempts of the Federal Trade Commission to enforce them? Generally speaking, he favored their enforcement although he did not always uphold the Federal Trade Commission. Let us briefly survey his Supreme Court record on such cases, most of which deal with the attempts of the F. T. C. to prevent restraint of trade.

Sanford, speaking for the Court in 1924, refused to sustain the commission's ruling that the refusal of a wholesale grocery firm to quit doing business with a manufacturer because the latter persisted in doing business with one of the former's customers constituted a restraint of trade in violation of the anti-trust laws. He wrote, "The case discloses no element of monopoly or oppression . . .; or . . . any dangerous tendency unduly to hinder competition."[38] Nevertheless, there were certain business practices which he did consider restraint of trade. There was a marked tendency in the

[34]274 U. S. 29.
[35]268 U. S. 295.
[36]262 U. S. 498; 263 U. S. 239; 265 U. S. 365.
[37]261 U. S. 566.
[38]Federal Trade Commission *v.* Raymond, 263 U. S. 572.

1920's for manufacturers to unite in trade associations in order to exchange information which would be mutually helpful to all members. This information, distributed from the office of the association, included such things as stocks on hand, production, shipments, prices, names of purchasers, opinions on future market conditions and other trade information. In 1921 and 1923, before Sanford came on the Court, two decisions had been handed down declaring that evidence disclosed that the purpose and result of such activities was to restrict competition, curtail production and increase prices. Such associations were, therefore, combinations and conspiracies in violation of the Anti-Trust Act.[39]

In 1925, however, the Court seemingly reversed itself in regard to the legality of trade association activity. This is partly explained by recent changes in the personnel of the Supreme Court. In that year the Court refused to uphold the F. T. C. in its efforts to break up trade associations of hardwood and cement manufacturers which were apparently engaged in activities similar to those mentioned above. Both Taft and Sanford agreed with McReynolds' dissenting opinion when the last named asserted,

> They [such trade associations] are parties to definite and unusual combinations and agreements, whereby each is obligated to reveal to confederates the intimate details of his business and is restricted in his freedom of action. It seems to me that ordinary knowledge of human nature and of the compelling force of greed ought to permit no serious doubt concerning the ultimate outcome of the arrangements. We may confidently expect the destruction of that kind of competition long relied upon by the public for the establishment of fair prices, and to preserve which the Anti-Trust Act was passed.[40]

Still another illustration of Sanford's readiness to uphold the anti-trust laws is found in the Court's decision which he wrote in the Eastman Kodak Co. *v.* Southern Photo Materials Co. in 1927. Southern Photo operated a wholesale photographic supply house in Atlanta. Eastman attempted to put the firm out of business by buying out competitors, fixing retailer's prices, attempting to prevent retailers from handling competitor's products and in other ways suppressing competition. They unsuccessfully tried to buy out the Atlanta concern and refused to sell to them at dealer's discount. A suit for damages had been won by the Southern Company in the lower federal court, which had been sustained by the Circuit Court of Appeals. When the issue came to the Supreme Court, Sanford denied the claim of Eastman that the damages granted based upon

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[39]American Column and Lumber Company *v.* U. S., 257 U. S. 357 and U. S. *v.* American Linseed Company, 262 U. S. 371.

[40]Cement Manufacturer's Protective Association *v.* U. S., 268 U. S. 588; Maple Flooring Association *v.* U. S. 268 U. S. 563.

the extent of previous business of the Southern Company were purely speculative and therefore unjust. Sanford stated, "A defendant whose wrongful conduct has rendered difficult the ascertainment of the precise damages suffered by the plaintiff, is not entitled to complain that they cannot be measured with the same exaction and precision as would otherwise be possible."[41]

As said above, Sanford did not always go the whole way with the F. T. C. At times he felt that that body went too far. Thus in 1927 he refused to back up that body when it tried to compel the Eastman Kodak to dispose of three laboratories that it was holding and not using but threatening to use if certain companies did not buy certain supplies from them as per agreement. At the time Sanford exclaimed, "If the ownership or maintenance of these laboratories has produced any unlawful status, the remedy must be administered by the courts in appropriate proceedings therein instituted."[42]

Nor would Sanford agree in 1927 that a further dissolution of the International Harvester Company was necessary. Counsel for the government charged that the company was still restraining competition because it controlled a large majority of the farm implement business. To this contention Sanford replied, "The law, however, does not make the mere size of a corporation, however impressive, or the existence of unexerted power on its part, an offense when unaccompanied by unlawful conduct in the exercise of its power."[43] It is thus apparent that Sanford's record on the upholding of the anti-trust laws was a moderately liberal one.

Justice Sanford was essentially a nationalist. That is to say his record was one of upholding the federal power as against the so-called rights of states. This generalization is borne out by his stand on a wide variety of subjects. He upheld the greatly increased regulatory power of the Interstate Commerce Commission under the Transportation Act of 1920. The regulation of grain exchanges and stock yards in his view was within the scope of the federal commerce power. He believed that the federal control over interstate power lines should be broadened and that the right of the city of Chicago to divert water from Lake Michigan for drainage purposes should be curtailed. He upheld the quarantine activities of the Department of Agriculture, defended interstate commerce and instrumentalities and activities of the national government against attempts of the states to tax them. This sweeping statement admits of

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[41]273 U. S. 379.
[42]Federal Trade Commission *v.* Eastman Company, 274 U. S. 625.
[43]U. S. *v.* International Harvester Co., 274 U. S. 708.

exceptions but they are not sufficient to break down the generalization.

By the liberal press Sanford was considered a conservative and if this estimate is based upon the stand he took in the numerous public utility rate making cases which came before the Court, the characterization is not far wrong. He consistently voted with the conservative majority, with Holmes, Brandeis and Harlan F. Stone dissenting. The majority usually held that a seven per cent return was confiscatory and that reproduction costs new instead of the liberal view of reproduction costs less depreciation should be the determining principle in utility rate fixing.[44] Nevertheless, Sanford voted with those same liberals in sustaining the validity of the federal gift tax and state regulation of amusement ticket scalpers.[45]

His work on the Court was not easy; he wrote many patent, admiralty and taxation decisions and opinions involving boundary disputes which required no little investigation and study. Nevertheless, there was some diversion and play. McReynolds, Butler and Sanford were the golfers on the Supreme Court and it was reported that the large quantities of the latest fiction which passed from the Library of Congress to the Sanford residence were for the Justice himself.[46]

It was a great pity that Sanford's Supreme Court tenure was so brief. News of his death on March 8, 1930 came with an unexpectedness that startled official Washington. The fact that he was ill became known to friends and associates only a few minutes before the word of his sudden death. He had stopped at his dentist's to have a tooth pulled on his way to the Capitol. Following the extraction he became dizzy. A doctor was called to administer a heart stimulant but Sanford failed to respond to treatment and died a short time after reaching home. Uremic poisoning was given as the cause of his death. His body was brought back to Knoxville for burial. Chief Justice Hughes and Associate Justices McReynolds and Stone attended the funeral to pay their last respects to their dead comrade.[47]

Following Sanford's death both officials and press gave him high praise. Even *The Nation*, which considered him conservative and even reactionary, paid him the following compliment: "The sudden and unexpected death of Justice Sanford of the Supreme Court removes not one of the most distinguished members of that tribunal but one who enjoyed great personal popularity and was

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[44]See 265 U. S. 403; 272 U. S. 400; 280 U. S. 234.
[45]Bromley *v.* McCaughlin, 280 U. S. 124; Tyson *v.* Branton, 273 U. S. 418.
[46]*N. Y. Times*, Jan. 16, 1927, IV, p. 11.
[47]*Ibid.*, Mar. 9, 1930, p. 1, Mar. 11, 1930, p. 27.

universally respected by the bar."[48] *The New York Times* wrote editorially, "It has been said of Mr. Sanford that while he was perhaps not a great judge he was a most useful member of the Supreme Court."[49] Other press and official comment was far more laudatory.[50] However, the few words of that venerable Justice, Oliver Wendell Holmes, who was ever known for his brevity of statement and for speaking his true mind, evaluates Sanford's Supreme Court career better than any: "On Saturday, just as we were expecting him at a conference of the Justices, we were informed that our brother, Mr. Justice Sanford, had become unconscious pending a slight operation. Five minutes later we received word that he was dead. Thus suddenly the light of a faithful worker, who was born also to charm, went out."[51]

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[48]Mar. 19, 1930.
[49]Mar. 10, 1930.
[50]*Literary Digest*, Mar. 22, 1930; N. Y. *Times*, Mar. 9, 1930, p. 28; *National Republic*, April, 1930, p. 10.
[51]265 U. S. v.

PAPERS FROM THE SPANISH ARCHIVES RELATING TO TENNESSEE AND THE OLD SOUTHWEST, 1783-1800

Translated and Edited *By*
D. C. Corbitt and Roberta Corbitt*
(Continued from the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14)

VII—June, 1788—September, 1788

[Translation]

MIRÓ TO VALDÉS, JUNE 15, 1788[1]

No 20 Most Excellent Sir

The five *chato* boats of Brigadier General Wilkinson have just arrived, loaded with one hundred and sixty-six hogsheads of tobacco, and some food. One loaded with thirty-five hogsheads, sank above the Arkansas, having struck a Tree which made a hole in it. (This cargo is worth a thousand *pesos* in Kentucky).[2]It is in charge of a Major in the United Army in the last war, Mr. Isaac Dunn, who gave me a letter of which the enclosed No. 10 is a translation. In it Your Excellency will see the state of the principal matter of my confidential Representation no. 13.[3] The aforesaid Major corroborates what Wilkinson states, being also certain that in the first Assembly of next year, in which Kentucky will function as an independent State, it will separate entirely from Congress, having heard in all the conversations that he has had with the Notables of that State that the current of the Rivers that pass in front of their homes show them clearly which must be the Power with which they should form a connection; but the terms on which it will be solicited he does not know. The said Brigadier in his private letter adds that he flatters himself that he will be the Deputy of his State to present the Propositions that they [the Notables] decide to make, and that he hopes to embrace me during next April. From the first he declared that he was not a wealthy man. A private gentleman here, on the recommendation of the Intendant Don Martin Navarro, lent him three thousand dollars with which to pay the crews of the *Chalanes*, and the price of the tobacco which he took as a loan, offering the product of his cargo as a deposit because he did not want to be detained, the latter to be used to sustain him so that he will not be embarrassed. This will contribute toward preserving and increasing his influence in that State.

Although his candor, and all the information I have gotten from many who know him, seem to assure me that he works in good faith, I do not fail to recognize that it is possible that he intends to enrich himself by leading

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*For the editors' introduction see the beginning of the first installment of these "Papers" in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 9 (1937), 111-12. With few exceptions the letters printed are from transcripts and photostats of papers selected by A. P. Whitaker from the Papeles de Cuba in the Archivo General de Indias (hereafter cited as A. G. I., P. C.), Seville, Spain, for the McClung Collection in the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

[1]A. G. I., P. C., 177.

[2]The statement in parentheses is a marginal note in the original.

[3]Miró and Navarro to the Minister of the Indies, September 25, 1787. A.G.I., P.C., 86-6-16 (transscript in the McClung Collection). A translation is printed in the fourth installment of these "Papers," *Publications,* No. 12, pp. 102-09.

us on with hopes of advantages that he knows will not be realized. Nevertheless I have decided to gratify him this time, not requiring him to deposit the value of his first cargo because storing would damage the tobacco and food, and the lack of money would, without doubt, cause hindrances to his operations. A deposit of his property is not the greatest security he might give us, nor does the trade in tobacco and food which he brought, inconvenience anyone, because the former will benefit His Majesty and the articles of Food are very appropriate for this city at the present time. The only objection to them is that there is so little. It has seemed to me that the aforesaid gratification is safest and most prudent, and I trust that it will receive His Majesty's approval.

Up to now I work blindly in this matter, because I have not received a reply to confidential Representation number 13, and although I am sorry I cannot give any definite instructions to the aforesaid Brigadier, I shall continue to encourage him in the enterprise, and I believe the delay of the Royal orders will cause no disadvantage, provided they are received prior to the arrival of the deputation announced.

Since Wilkinson says it is of the greatest importance for Kentucky to know that she does not have to preserve any communication whatever with the Atlantic Coast, in order to provide herself with what is necessary from Europe, I shall encourage and protect his agent, Daniel Clark,[4] in every way possible, so that he may be sent a loaded *Lanchon,* to which there is no obstacle other than the great one of going back up the Ohio without danger from a possible surprise attack from the Indians at several points which lend themselves to that purpose.

In the letter that I enclosed to you in confidential representation No. 18, Wilkinson promises by his *chato* boats a book[5] which he has sent, enclosing to me several Gazettes which treat of the Mississippi, the Letters of the American Sullivan, of which Don Diego Gardoqui[6] will have informed you, and a paper of his own with several reflections on the new federal Government, the settlements on the Ohio, and the Navigation of the Mississippi. The only one worthy of occupying your attention is the last, a translation of which accompanies this under number 2. The above mentioned Brigadier concludes by saying that if Sullivan presents himself on this side of the Appalachian Mountains, which he has not done, I may be

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[4]Daniel Clark, Jr., a merchant in New Orleans in partnership with an uncle of the same name. See A. P. Whitaker, *The Mississippi Question, 1795-1803* (New York and London, 1934), 92.

[5]The book referred to was very likely a dictionary to be used as a key to the cipher system of Wilkinson's correspondence. In writing, Wilkinson used numbers to refer to pages of the dictionary and words on the page. The cipher was changed in 1790. In a letter of January 28, 1790 to Miró (A.G.I.,P.C., 2374, photostat in the McClung Collection) Wilkinson said, "I wrote you the 11th of last Month & sent you a Dictionary, to be employed as the Key to our Cypher, instead of this I left with you as I could not find one of the same edition: that letters & book were inclosed to Gayoso and committeed to the charge of George Dunn, a nephew of the late Major. . . ." This letter itself is in cipher. The wording quoted is from the translation made in New Orleans. In another letter to Gayoso on April 3, 1790, Wilkinson explained, "The Cypher on which this letter is founded, was sent by Dunn & Job Ruth—you must supply the termination of the Verbs & the Number of the Nouns" (A.G.I.,P.C., 2374, photostat in the McClung Collection).

[6]*Cf.* Gardoqui to Ezpeleta, November 12, 1787 and annexed notes, in *Publications,* No. 13, pp. 102-05.

sure that he will end his travels, meaning that he will impede him from troubling this province about which he treats in his Letters. . . .

[no signature]

His Excellency Señor Don Antonio Valdés.

[Translation]

MIRÓ TO VALDÉS, NEW ORLEANS, JUNE 15, 1788[7]

No. 21

Confidential Most Excellent Sir

Enclosed Your Excellency will find the Translation of a Letter to the Commandant at Pensacola from Mr. Alexander McGillivray, our commissary in the Talapuche Nation, and its principal Chief.

I consider the news that the Deputies from Cumberland gave him very interesting in that it shows the general ferment there and in Kentucky about separating from Congress. Although naturally I did not greatly fear that Kentucky would form a connection with the English in Canada, it has been dispelled completely by Major Isaac Dunn, of whom I spoke in the preceding confidential letter of this date, who assured me that there is not the slightest disposition nor idea among the Inhabitants of Kentucky of forming a connection with Canada, and therefore, as far as it touches this District, the report is entirely false. But he is well informed of the source from which it comes--the Notables of Vincennes Post, which is situated on the Wabash, a river that empties into the right side of the Ohio; Capital of the County of Illinois, whose principal settlements join ours on the left Bank of the Mississippi. They represented to Congress last year that they were greatly molested by Indians and bandits, abandoned without Authority from the United States, and that this pitiful situation would oblige them to surrender themselves to Canada unless it was remedied. Therefore Congress, to whose Jurisdiction the said County pertains because it is not within the boundaries of any of the thirteen United Provinces, has appointed as Governor, General St. Clair, who is due to bring a Detachment of troops with him; a report which our Lieutenant Governor at Illinois [St. Louis] has also given me.

The said Dunn has also informed me that the circumstances about the State of Franklin explained by the Deputies from Cumberland are inexact; for the division of which he speaks has been caused by two principal personages who are enemies.[8] They have formed factions to the point of violence, and since there has been some bloodshed, they have separated. both leaving the said State in complete Anarchy. Therefore, it is not true that part of it has reunited with North Carolina and part has returned to the Cherokee Nation.

In respect to the propositions to become Vassals of his Majesty made to McGillivray by the Inhabitants of Cumberland, I have made no reply, but I have informed the Commandant at Pensacola of the receipt of the enclosed Letter,[9] simply telling him that I would make the proper use of it. It does not seem expedient to do otherwise, because through McGillivray that matter would easily be divulged, and because Cumberland will very

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[7]A.G.I.,P.C., 86-6-8.

[8]John Tipton and John Sevier.

[9]McGillivray to O'Neill, April 25, 1788, A.G.I., P.C., 201. Printed in Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks* (Norman, Okla., 1938), 178-79. See also *Publications,* No. 14, p. 101, note 26.

probably follow the example of Kentucky. Nevertheless, as Deputies may come down from part of it, I beg your Excellency to prescribe to me the line of conduct I should observe in order to please His Majesty. . . .

Estevan Miró

His Excellency Bailio Frey Don Antonio Valdés.

COLBERT TO JOYCE OR TURNBULL, CHICKASAWS, JULY 10, 1788[10]

To Mr Joyce
or Mr Turnbull, Chickasaw Nation, July 10, 1788—

Please send me by the bearrer twenty yds, of Oznabrigs, for Tobacco Cloths, or some kind that will answer, and one Horse lode of Salt, and four knifs to cut Tobacco of the Cheep kind if any —

I shall come Down this faul to pay of my Debts, and expect I have some left, which I would wish to lay out in the price of a Couple of young Negroes, I hope you will keep them for me —

Please to see into, or enquire of the Governer whether I shall get pay for my Negro jack that run away or not, if he Acquieses to pay, receive payment for me; if not, Shew him thes lines, that is my determination to have pay, if not from him, Some Body else must loose; pray write me word how matters will ballence —

I am trying to make all metenals [materials?] answer to come Down after I have finished my Crops, to my Father old place to live, let me kow [know] allso if you can let me have two young Negro's — . . .

George Colbert

Messers, Joyce, Turnbull
living in
Mobile

[Translation]

MIRÓ TO VALDÉS, NEW ORLEANS, JULY 13, 1788[11]

Most Excellent Sir
No. 22

I have just received a letter from the commissary in the Talapuche Indian Nations, Mr. Alexander McGillivray, of which the enclosed No 1 is a translation,[12] together with document no. 2, which includes the resolutions [suggested] to the Congress of the United States by a Committee appointed by that body on Affairs of the Indian Nations within their boundaries and these Provinces; no 3, a translation of a Letter of Generals Pickens and Matthews[13] to the aforesaid McGillivray and his Nation, inviting them to

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[10]A.G.I.,P.C., 52. George Colbert, a Chickasaw chief, was the son of James Colbert and a Chickasaw woman. For the father's activity see Corbitt, "James Colbert and the Spanish Claims to the East Bank of the Mississppi," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXIII (March, 1937), 457-72. Joyce and Turnbull were in charge of Mather and Strother's store at Mobile.

[11]A.G.I.,P.C., 177.

[12]McGillivray to Miró, June 12, 1788. Printed in Caughey, *op. cit.*, 183-85 (A.G.I.,P.C., 177) photostat in the McClung Collection). McGillivray asked for a written statement of the Spanish position with respect to the relations of the Indians to the Americans so he and his nation would know how to act toward the American commissioners. He also requested further privileges for Panton so he "could furnish Goods as cheap as the Georgians can."

[13]Pickens and Matthews to McGillivray, March 29, 1788. Printed in Caughey, *op. cit.*, 174-75. An invitation to McGillivray to a peace conference with representa-

discuss Peace; and no. 4, a copy of the reply to it.[14]

By the first Your Excellency will see that McGillivray asks for a translation of the confidential royal order of July 31 of last year in which His Majesty has deigned to declare the Talapuches under his Protection, which would inform him of the terms on which His Majesty is willing that his Nation should make Peace. McGillivray advises me that he has delayed the celebration of the assembly which the said Generals request until September, in order that he may receive my reply. This is a very delicate matter, which depends on the impression I may make on McGillivray, and on how far the protection of His Majesty extends. McGillivray may or may not give himself wholly over to the friendship, trade and Commerce with the United States, and it is of utmost importance to get the treaty of Peace limited to their being friends without granting them the trade and Commerce. The time set is not sufficient for me to receive the orders of the Captain General, for even if there were a boat ready to sail immediately for Havana, it is impossible for his reply to arrive in time to reach McGillivray before he begins his journey to Seneca where he must be in September; therefore, in accord with the power His Majesty has given me for these cases by the royal order of June 13 of last year, I have seen fit to reply to the aforesaid Letter of McGillivray in the terms which Your Excellency will see in no. 5,[15] and since it seems necessary to me that he and his Nation be informed of the royal order cited, and also since I do not find it inconvenient for the Peace Commissioners to see it (for this purpose Don Diego Gardoqui will send a communication to Congress), I have enclosed to him a Copy, suppressing, nevertheless, the words "*with regard to not having furnished Mr. Alexander McGillivray all the guns he requested for attacking the Americans* with Talapuche Indians" so that no documents will show them that we have helped (although we have not helped all we could have) to make War on them.

What McGillivray says about Commerce is worthy of note. Everything that Mr. William Panton asked for on April 2 of this year will be supplied through our Ambassador in London, for he is confident that he cannot be refused since he knows very well that it will be difficult to replace him [Panton] with any one else. McGillivray speaks from the point of view of his personal interest, from which the ambition of the man cannot be separated, because of the part which Panton has granted him in the Trade. The advantages produced in Pensacola are of small consequence and he really benefits little on account of the way in which the trade is now carried on. Mr. James Mather, who supplies the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, also complained of this, for which reason, while no other means is found to supply the Indians at the prices they demand, while the Americans are ready to do it, I am of the opinion that it would be best to grant the exception that is solicited by Panton;[16] nevertheless, I believe that if

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tives of Georgia, North Carolina and South Carolina. A truce was requested during negotiations.

[14]McGillivray to Pickens and Matthews, June 4, 1788. Printed in Caughey, *op. cit.*, 180-82. McGillivray agreed to the conference and the truce.

[15]The significant part of Miró's reply to McGillivray, July 8, 1788, is given in Caughey, *op. cit.*, 187-88.

[16]Panton asked exemption from the six per cent import and export duty. A royal order of 1790 exempted him from part of the duty for 1788. Corbitt, *op. cit.*, *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XXI, No. 4 (December, 1937), 379. Panton was later given full exemption from all duties.

His Majesty would permit him to bring in each ship one fifth of the cargo in goods not destined for the Indian trade, he would be willing to pay duties on everything, and as the Trade of this Province is totally foreign, no injury would result to Spanish commerce, and the collection of the duties would cover in part, or entirely, the price of the presents it is necessary to give to the Indians. I cannot guarantee this Proposition, but I am going to offer it to Panton as a favor and if he is agreeable I shall advise Your Excellency of the results.

This narration is made because of the importance of keeping the Talapuches under the protection of His Majesty in order to form a barrier between the United States and these Provinces. The value of this barrier should be the factor considered in deciding what reductions should be made in the duties, and whether or not Panton is to continue with the trade.

Colonel Arturo O'Neill, Commandant of Pensacola, has for some time had a great distrust of Panton and McGillivray, without giving other reason than that they are British at Heart. That this should be is evident because the first is a native of England, and the Second is a son of an English Superintendent of Indians. For this reason, if Georgia and Carolina now belonged to Great Britain, the Talapuche Nations would, without doubt, supply themselves from there without ever having thought of placing themselves under the protection of our Sovereign, but since the War, the very fact that they are British and preserve their hatred for the former insurgents, makes them prefer the indicated Royal protection, and for the same reason they will respect it as long as it supports them as they ask. Panton has always been ready for whatever services were required of him, and the only objection I find to him is the repugnance he had to taking the oath of fidelity freely and clearly; therefore if another is found who would carry on the Trade on the same terms, so as to interest McGillivray, it would be well to get rid of him.

I am diametrically opposed to the proposition of Don Arturo O'Neill to try to make McGillivray lose his influence with the Indians, because I believe it impossible to do so, and even if we succeeded in drawing away from him the devotion of one or another Chief, at the least notice that we were working toward that end he would transfer his friendship to the Americans. In addition I cannot see that anything else can be inferred from his conduct than the desire to keep himself under the protection of Spain, for he has been most faithful, since he was appointed Spanish Commissary, in reporting important news of the intrigues to attract his Nation and the others, that he has acquired, without concealing anything.

Documents numbers 6, 7, 8 and 9 will inform Your Excellency of the opinion of the aforesaid Colonel about the matter, and of my replies.[17] I beg Your Excellency to communicate to me the intentions of His Majesty on this point, with the understanding that without an order from the King or the Captain General, I will not consent to any move against McGillivray, whom I have advised in a private Letter that when Panton retires of his own accord, or by order of His Majesty, I propose that who-

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[17]O'Neill's distrust of McGillivray is set forth in the letters of March 26, 1788; April 7, 1788; and May 8, 1788 (printed above); and in Miró to O'Neill, July 8, 1788; and same to same, July 12, 1788 (printed in Caughey, *op. cit.*, 186, 188-89). The documents referred to were probably copies of four of these letters.

ever replaces him must grant him [McGillivray] the same interest in the Trade that Panton grants.

I will have the greatest satisfaction if, by chance, the Expression contained in my reply to McGillivray should merit His Majesty's approval, which I beg Your Excellency to entreat. . . .

[no signature]

His Excellency Señor Don Antonio Valdés

[Translation]

GASKINS TO MIRÓ, NATCHEZ, JULY 15, 1788[18]

Jean Gaskins presents himself To Your Excellency with the most profound respect, saying that when he settled here he had left in Cumberland some goods which he could not sell at that time, and, desiring to remain in this district for the rest of his Days, he Begs you to give him a Passport to go to the said Cumberland to terminate his affairs and to return quickly with the remainder of His Property, a favor which he expects of Your Excellency. . . .

Jean Gaskins.

[Translation]

DRAKE TO MIRÓ, NATCHEZ, JULY 15, 1788[19]

My Lord the Governor

Benjamin Drake a resident of the District of Natchez has the honor to Present himself to Your Excellency with Respect, Saying that he left some debts in Cumberland, and that he desires to settle his affairs in that place, and for that Purpose he Begs, if it Please Your Excellency, that you will grant him a Passport to go and return immediately with the rest of his Goods, a favor he expects of the goodness of Your Excellency. . . .

Benjamin Drake

[Translation]

O'NEILL TO MIRÓ, PENSACOLA, JULY 28, 1788[20]

Confidential

Document from the confidential letter to the
Captain General on August 16, 1788

In fulfilment of the Royal order of December 1, 1783 which commands the arrest of any Foreigner who enters in disguise for the purpose of inciting the Vassals of Our Catholic Monarch, or Natives or Inhabitants of his domains, and especially in fulfilment of the confidential letter from His Majesty dated February 9 of the Current year, I have used all care to observe closely the Conduct and procedure of Mr. Alexander McGillivray, Mr.

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[18]A.G.I.,P.C., 201.

[19]A.G.I.,P.C., 201.

[20]A.G.I.,P.C., 38. In this and the following letter, O'Neill gave garbled accounts of the first important scheme hatched by William Augustus Bowles, a most picturesque person who was to loom large on the frontier during the next decade and a half. When writing this letter, however, O'Neill seems to have been ignorant of Bowles' identity. Not until August 22, 1788 did O'Neill indicate that he knew who the adventurer was (O'Neill to Miró of that date in Caughey, *op. cit.*, 197). This Bowles incident grew out of the fact that the Spanish colonial officers, acting on orders from Spain, stopped supplying munitions to the Indians late in 1787. Bowles stepped into international importance by promising McGillivray to bring a supply from New Providence. He seems to have planned from the first to supplant both Panton and McGillivray, but they did not realize this immediately. Instead, their unsatisfactory relations with Spain at the time led them to look with favor on the adventurer for a while. How thoroughly they repented will appear in later installments of these "Papers."

William Panton and his cashier. Mr. John Folvers [Forbes] in view of the break that was feared from the Conduct of the English, and in view of the fact that the first is a Mestizo of Indian, British and Scotch origin who considers himself dependent only on his Creek Indian Nation. I have been informed by the said Panton that he [McGillivray] considers the Salary given him by our Monarch as a mere gratuity.

At the same time I have noted an anxiety on the part of Panton and Folvers about the former's not being granted permission as quickly as desired to send his Boat loaded with Peltry to London and also to send directly to the said Capital the Peltry they had at St. Mark's.

These two pride themselves on being British Subjects and previously they refused to take the oath of faithful subjects of Our Monarch. This refusal stimulated me to work through a Friend, Mr. Maypowder [Maypother], an employee of Panton's Company and the only individual among his employees that has taken the oath of fidelity and Vassalage to our King, for the purpose of watching and discovering any plot or Correspondence that might be injurious to our Government. In fact, he [Maypother] informed me in the month of February of this year that he had observed that private communications came frequently from McGillivray to Panton, and that the latter secretly sent quick replies, showing fear that the contents would become known. He also observed the same fear and secrecy on the part of the Bearers of the Letters. Nevertheless, I have been able to see one of the said Letters from McGillivray to Panton, a copy of which I possess, having returned the original to Mr. John Maypowder who took it back to Panton's House. I see by it (as I informed you before) that McGillivray has written that he would take the Trade from the Spaniards, whom he called Wasps that tormented them, even though it should be necessary to offer it to the Americans at the Congress. Notwithstanding, according to what he insinuated, he was more inclined toward the British.

I have also been informed, by the same means, that Panton counseled two Residents on the Escamby [Escambia] River, named Kare and Miller, to take their Cattle and go and settle in the Nations where conditions would be better, and to the said Miller he stated that cattle had little value here, but that a better price would be given at St. Marks.

Panton himself had his Cattle transferred to St. Marks.

In March of this year the said Mr. John Maypowder informed me that he had read a Letter of Joyas [Joyce], [21] the employee of the Merchant Mather at Mobile for the trade with the Choctaw Indians, in which he highly praised McGillivray who, he said, had obtained more than any of His predecessors in the business.

The said Folvers, Panton's Cashier, let drop on one Occasion, in a Conversation with Maypowder about the Trade with the Indians, that the latter were brave, and that they would, without doubt, in time acquire a free Port for themselves and their Trade on these Coasts. Panton, on several occasions, praised a great deal the valor and capacity of these Indians and the worth of McGillivray. He [Maypother] informs me of these facts and of some words in deprecation of Your Excellency and the ex-Intendant Don Martin Navarro,[22] and of the daily independence shown by McGillivray

[21] *Cf. supra,* note 10.

[22] Navarro retired to Spain in 1788. He had served as intendant since 1782. From 1788 to 1794 the governors (Miró and Carondelet) were also intendants. After 1794 the intendancy was separate from the political government.

who, at one time, spread word among the traders of the Nation that the business of Panton in this place would be closed or ended shortly, and would be carried on to better advantage where no duties had to be paid, and also of a Mulatto having run away from Mr. Zenon Balls, a resident here. The Mulatto went to the Creek Nation and worked at his trade of cooper in Panton's House at St. Marks, from where, being later recognized, he went to McGillivray's House in the Nation. Balls asked that the Mulatto be handed over to him, offering forty *pesos* for his return and finally sent two Spaniards to search for him. They found him in the House of McGillivray's sister, and asked McGillivray to apprehend him and give him up but McGillivray threatened to use a Razor on anyone who tried to capture him, and the Mulatto remained in the Nation. Finding McGillivray here recently, I urged him gently to give up the Mulatto, and have been able to get him to agree that 200 *pesos* should be taken from his Salary, 50 *pesos* of which he gave to Balls himself, who is not Content because he says the Mulatto is worth 400. All of this incited my Suspicion of the said Individuals to the extent that I reported to Your Excellency, as proved by my Confidential Letters, the first of which, dated the 21st of this month, recounted what was related to me by King Manso of Talassie. In it I enclose a Copy of the Letter of O'Keefe, the trader in the Nations, and what the Bearer of another letter from the same O'Keefe, Timothy Lain [Lane], related to me, a Copy of which I also sent to Your Excellency on the 21st, reporting to you what the said Timothy Lain told me verbally, and finally under date of the 23rd of the same month I sent you a Copy of the Letter that McGillivray sent me by his uncle, the Talapuche Chief. This Indian got drunk here and let loose Conversation to the effect that the English gave larger gifts that the Spaniards, that a Ship had arrived at the Mosquito Coast in East Florida with gifts and many Munitions for the Creek Indians, that ships would come by Sea, and that they would take this city but would not injure the House of Panton, nor the Interpreter, nor any other person married to an Indian woman. He said that they would likewise take St. Augustine, from which the greater part of the Troops had been withdrawn, that the time agreed upon between McGillivray and the Spaniards to observe friendship had ended and that now it would be different, that many Englishmen were going to the Mosquito Coast and that several were already settled there.

After I had given a present to the Chief, I asked him who told him this. He answered that his nephew, McGillivray, had told him, and that the Indians and the emigrants from Providence to the Mosquito Coast would go with all their force against the Americans of Georgia, and that, returning to the Nation, he would go with the rest to receive his part of the gift from the Englishmen. My suspicions are confirmed by this, and the fact that there has arrived from Tizá [Tensaw] a trader Named Welch, [23] who reported that Mr. Alexander McGillivray has written to an Englishman named Walcord who lives at the said McGillivray's Cattle Farm, a little beyond Tinzá [Tensaw], and also to Mr. Linder the Mayor [*Alcalde*][24] of this

[23]Robert Welch. See his letter to McCurtin, September 25, 1784, in the first installment of these "Papers," *Publications,* No. 9 (1937), 118. Tensaw was a Spanish protected settlement of whites (mostly Anglo-Americans) and mestizos situated just below the junction of the Alabama and Tombigbee rivers.

[24]John Linder is referred to here as *alcalde,* but he was what was called in Cuba (and later in East Florida) a *capitan de partido.* The duties of such officers corresponded roughly to those of constable and justice of the peace.

district, in order that he might enlist what white men he could for convenient purposes, and he also says that perhaps McGillivray will not return to Pensacola any more.

The Carpenter, Gerardo Birne, resident of this place, tells me that the last time Mr. McGillivray was here he told him that the American residents of Cumberland had sent him two deputies offering him three hundred Cavalry for whatever use he thought best — such was the Friendship between them and the Indian Nations — and that men were being enlisted in Tinzá. I will try to inform myself with more Certainty, not having communicated anything about the matter to the commandant of that Post, and all I write to you I have kept with the greatest secrecy in order that neither Panton nor McGillivray might learn that I have any misgivings about them.

In reply to Your Excellency's confidential letter of the 8th of this month, I set forth all that seems to me of importance, and I will be glad if you will pass it on to the Captain General, and to the Court, for whatever is best.

At the same time I do not omit to communicate to Your Excellency that the Letter you enclosed to me for Mr. McGillivray seems to be appropriate and to the point in the present circumstances, and I will pass it on to him immediately, accompanying it by a Letter couched in pleasing terms. Likewise the Letter that you wrote to Panton, who has shown it to me, seems adequate, and I have informed him of the permission you have granted him to bring for the Indian trade the rest of the goods imported on the Frigate Mary at the end of last year. All this is necessary to Calm these Spirits and to preserve the Friendship of the Indians while it is being decided how to prevent them from abusing the advantages and privileges conceded to them by Our King.

I take the liberty at the same time of expressing my opinion about these things, and I suggest that as a result of the arrival of the Ship at the Mosquito Coast and the passing of the Whites and their families to that vicinity, the Indians may be stirred up, and with their sanction, McGillivray, Panton, Colonel Browne, [25] and other royalists of those who evacuated East Florida, still in Providence, wishing to fortify a Post to usurp and hold some Port on the Coast of the said Province, may unite themselves throughout this Southern District [Vanda del Sur] with the Inhabitants of Cumberland, to form an independency, or to accomplish some other purpose, being invited and inspired by the King of England (which caused doubts to rise in my mind). It may, nevertheless, all be an artifice of the Merchant Panton, simply to stimulate, or better demand and obtain from Your Excellency all the privileges he has asked of you for his trade here, by causing misgivings, for I am informed that he wrote to Providence that he would shortly have this trade under his Control. Whatever may have been the beginning of it, I hope that you will do opportunely what is necessary to suppress these sinister designs, because the continuation of the clandestine arrival of foreign ships to our Coast will always be prejudicial to us. . . .

Arturo O'Neill

Señor Don Estevan Miró

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[25]Colonel Thomas Brown, last British superintendent of Indians in Florida. Georgians early saw in him only an infamous Tory leader. The Mosquito Coast was the area along the Mosquito (now Indian) River.

[Translation]

O'NEILL TO MIRÓ, PENSACOLA, AUGUST 15, 1788[26]

Document no. 2 from the confidential letter
to the Captain General August 28, 1788

Since my last letter to Your Excellency about the procedure of McGillivray, two Youths from Tensaw, named Walcord and Walsh, have Spread the rumor here that the said McGillivray has given commissions for the enlistment in that settlement of whites who would like to Arm themselves and unite with him and the Indians. On account of this and the previous rumors that McGillivray would not come again, spread by the Indians, together with the arrival of his sister Here from Tensaw near Little River to buy Rum, and his own departure the same day without seeing me or asking for a present as he always does, and the big talk that John Linder, his son, another person Named torven, and old man Walcord had received a Letter from McGillivray about the landing of Munitions, Arms, and goods for Indian presents as well as some Troops or Armed British, on the Mosquito Coast or Indian River, I have been stimulated to commission Gerardo Birne, an Irishman of my confidence, to go and with dissimulation acquire news of Tensaw, as Your Excellency will see by the Second declaration of the Seven that I enclose to you.

Being successively informed that a trader named Smell, spoken of in the first declaration, had arrived here, and that he wished to return to the Nation suddenly, having been in the House of William Panton and talked with some of the residents of this Town about the coming of British Vassals, and having treated with Mr. McGillivray and some Indian Chiefs, I had him arrested upon his return in a Canoe through this Bay, and asked him for his Passport. He said he had only a Letter (which he handed to the adjutant of this City who arrested him) from William Panton to a Mestizo in the Nation named Galphin.[27] I opened the Letter, which treated of interests concerning both, and at the end it read: "This man will do well to observe, on leaving, more precautions and prudence than he practiced on entering. Without them he may find himself in the Castle at St. Augustine." I folded the Letter without his knowing anything about my having read it and the Adjutant returned it to Smell, whose declaration will inform you further. It seemed best to allow him to continue his journey.

Soon there presented himself Thomas Miller, the Master of the Latter, who had just arrived from the Nation: he voluntarily confessed what you will learn from the third declaration which you can fully believe. John Linder and his son with two Indians, a Mestizo, and four Englishmen from Tensaw, having arrived by land at the same time, I asked Linder orally what was going on there. He replied nothing in particular. I asked if in Tensaw they did not talk of the landing of goods and Munitions and Arms on the Mosquito Coast by some English emissaries in the said Indian Nation. He replied with indifference that an Indian voiced something about the matter, to which he paid no attention, not placing any Belief in it, upon which I said that since his father is Mayor of Tensaw he should have reported to the Governor of Mobile the rumors that were circulating about the matter in his District, and he left for his lodging saying that he intended to wait

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[26] A.G.I.,P.C., 38.

[27] John and George Galphin were mestizo sons of the founder of Galphinton. John seems to have been referred to here.

for the Ship of an American, named Slon [Sloan?], which was coming from Mobile, because he intended to go to the Lower Creeks in it to buy Cattle. The Ship arrived the third day, and during the interval his [McGillivray's] Herdsman Named Hal, being somewhat drunk, informed Gerardo Birne about the coming of the British to the Nation. This disclosure, together with Linder's having told me when he was here a month ago that his intention was to buy Negroes, and having denied, as I have said, what was evident, and notorious, and generally received in Tensaw about the English who had come, caused me to arrest Hal, the said Jones, and the Captain of the Ship named Slon, whose declarations I took, a copy of which I enclose to Your Excellency. I set the men free after having taken a Memorial in in which Linder excused himself for not having told in the beginning all that he knew about the matter, and commanded them all to return to their homes at Tensaw, reprimanding Linder, who makes a show of being sorry for his error. I told Slon, the Captain of the Ship, that he might continue his trade but that for the present I would permit no one to go into the Lower Creeks to buy Cattle.

It may be that this Scare will restrain the evil intentions of which I suspect them. It seems for the present that it would be best to dissimulate and at the same time show resolution in forestalling any sinister intention.

I shall write to the Commandant of Mobile to watch secretly the conduct of the Inhabitants of Tensaw, particularly those named Walcord, Torven, and the two Linders, Father and son, who, it is certain, correspond with McGillbray [McGillivray].

Your Excellency will learn of the rest from the declarations, and from the judicial decree [*diligencia*] that follow, and because these documents would be slow in arriving in Havana by way of New Orleans, and because a Merchant Schooner is returning tonight to Havana, it seemed urgent to me to inform Don José Ezpeleta in the terms that I copy to Your Excellency in order that he might make what dispositions he thinks best. I shall cut off communication with Providence immediately, and, until some war Frigate comes here, I have done the same between Panton, McGillivray and the Indians.

On the 11th of this month Mr. William Panton showed me a letter signed by his business partner, Mr. Folvers [Forbes], living in Providence, in which it was stated "That Lord Dunmore Governor of the Bahama Islands agreed to send in a small Ship some families, two or three thousand Pounds of Powder, and other War Supplies and goods to the Mosquito Coast in East Florida, and it may be that the said Governor has done it as a bad turn to the House of Panton and Company." I am persuaded that Panton and McGillivray have originated these troubles, so I told the former dissemblingly that he would do well to inform Your Excellency about it. He replied Yes, but with reserve, for if it should be known it would put him in a bad light among the English.

I am persuaded that Your Excellency will not be opposed to my decision to take advantage of the opportunity to write to the Captain General, since I was incited to do so by the idea that the Dispositions I have Mentioned, which can come only from there, should be made soon, and arrive in time to

calm the Excitement which these movements or Sinister Councils may cause among the Indians.

Arturo O'Neill[28]

Señor Don Estevan Miró

[Translation]

O'NEILL TO MIRÓ, PENSACOLA, SEPTEMBER 10, 1788[29]

Confidential

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No. 27 Documents from the letter to the Captain General dated October 5, 1788

I enclose to Your Excellency a Copy of a letter that I received from Mr. Alexander McGillivray dated August 22[30] of this current year: likewise a Copy of a letter dated July 16 from Messrs. Richard Wims [Winn], superintendent Andrew Pickens, and George Matthews, to Alexander McGillivray, and the reply to it dated August 16, and addressed to the said Richard Wims, who was commissioned by congress to make Peace with the Southern Indians.[31]

You may observe how dejected McGillivray was when he wrote the Letter, as a result of a Servant or Herdsman, and a trader at Little River, named Joe Colonel's, having informed him that a Party of American light Cavalry from Franklin were on the march to this district, and that they had arrested Mr. William Panton and had seized his goods, and also because the Spanish Government took it very badly that he and the Creek Indians should accept presents from, and establish bonds of friendship with the English of Providence. All this was told me by Charles Wetherford, Brother-in law of McGillivray, who handed me His Letter. He disapproves of McGillivray's conduct, and assures me that several traders and the greater part of the Indians do not adhere to McGillivray's way of thinking.

Several persons also affirm that the Americans have not made an invasion or killed any Indians since the last Suspension of hostilities between the said Nations. This, together with the inconsistency with which Mc-

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[28]O'Neill wrote to Miró again on August 22 (printed in Caughey, *op. cit.*, 197-98. Original in A.G.I.,P.C., 38, photostat in the McClung Collection). Juan Garzon, the interpreter for the Creeks, and Timothy Lane, a trader in that nation, had just arrived with reports that McGillivray had sent a pack train to the Mosquito Coast for ammunition. This confirmed O'Neill in the belief that Panton and McGillivray were plotting against Spain. O'Neill enclosed a letter from McGillivray of August 12, 1788 (A.G.I.,P.C., 201, photostat in the McClung Collection. Printed in Caughey, *op. cit.*, 191-93) in which the chief expressed the fear that the Americans would not give the Indians justice now that Spain had withdrawn support. Following this preface, McGillivray casually mentioned that O'Neill had probably "heard Much talk from Indians & others about a Strange Man Coming in the Nation," and added, "I have Seen him & he was a Captain in a Loyalist Corps in the last war. he certainly has brought us a good Supply of arms & ammunition from a Society of certain charitable people. . . ." The "Strange Man" was Bowles and the charitable people were Miller and Bonnamy of New Providence, who hoped, with the support of Lord Dunmore, governor of the Bahamas, to supplant Panton, Leslie & Co. in the Indian trade.

[29]A.G.I.,P.C., 38.

[30]Printed in Caughey, *op. cit.*, 196-97. McGillivray reported great confusion in the nation because of the reports circulated by Lane at Pensacola. The chief said that only in an hour of need had the munitions been accepted from Bowles. Before using the supplies against Spain he would turn the munitions against the breast of the one that brought them. He wanted O'Neill to know he was incapable of a breach of honor.

[31]Richard Winn had been appointed by Congress to succeed James White in dealing with the Indians. See *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 30-36.

Gillivray writes, if it is assumed that he is in favor of the British, and that Congress is opposed to the Governor of Franklin, as well as his previous conduct, are sufficient reasons that confidence should not be placed in him, but rather that you should take precautions against him, and try with anticipation to counteract his evil intentions. He has made Peace with the Americans of Cumberland, but carries on war with those of Georgia, and has accepted presents from a Company formed in Providence without giving notice of it. On the contrary, he warned everybody to keep the matter a secret until he was sure that I had learned of it from other persons.

It is worth noting that after I had written the Letter that I enclose to Your Excellency, a Resident of this Place, Gerardo Birne, went to the Nation following two runaway Negroes, thinking that he would overtake the Negroes on the Road from Tensaw. I gave him a Passport in Spanish as is customary. He continued his Journey until he arrived at McGillivray's house and presented him his Passport which, when McGillivray saw, he said that he did not understand, and that it was good only for toilet paper. He showed much uneasiness and said: "The Governor of Pensacola wants to watch my conduct; it is very hard. It is true that Pack-trains have been sent to the Mosquito River for the presents or Munitions, and that I have sent Fifty Pack-horses, and I shall send fifty more later if it is necessary. The trader in the Nation, named Timothy Lain [Lane], above all men, must die for carrying news from here to the Governor of Pensacola." The aforesaid Birne also states that he noticed a kind of gallows erected near McGillivray's House, and that the trader O'Keefe escaped on the Road to Tensaw because he had heard that McGillivray gave the order in the lower Creeks to get rid of him for having written to the Spaniards about what was going on in the Nation, a fact which McGillivray could have learned only from Mr. William Panton, for he alone saw the Indian that brought the Letter from the said Trader O'Keefe to Mr. John Maypowder [Maypother] so that he might inform me of its contents.

The aforesaid trader has arrived here and tells me it is true that in the Nation his ruin was threatened by order of McGillivray, but that he believes nothing will happen; notwithstanding, he took advantage of the occasion to come on the pretext of buying some things here, while the Indians, relatives of his wife and of McGillivray, were forgetting their suspicions of him. He assures me that at present a hundred and fifty Horses have gone to the Mosquito River to bring the Munitions, and that McGillivray himself told him two months ago that the present would consist entirely of Munitions, and that for its transportation to the Nation, two hundred Horses would be needed.

He also affirms that McGillivray told him last year that an American Colonel, named With [White],[32] being in the Nation to make Peace with the Indians, McGillivray proposed to him that the Oconee Lands, which the Georgians have usurped from the Indians, be ceded to the Indians in return for all the Seacoast between the St. Marys River and the Altamaha. Furthermore, about a year ago when McGillivray was here, Mr. William Panton told him that if that Coast and its Ports should be obtained, the goods for the Indians could be sold to the traders at a lower price because no duties would have to be paid.

The aforesaid Birne, learning that his Negro had been arrested in the

[32]"Colonel" or "Doctor" James White.

Nation, went back to get him, and I think that McGillivray will facilitate his being handed over. Finally, I must inform Your Excellency that now, as before, Panton tells me that if he does not get a permanent right to carry on the entire trade of all the Nations, here and at Mobile, free of duty, his Frigate will not return here, nor will he introduce any more goods. He assures me always that he has not had great profits from this Trade, notwithstanding the fact that I believe, by the reports I have obtained, that he has gained Eighty thousands *pesos*. He cannot have sustained the losses that others have had, for the presence of McGillivray in the Nation has assured, and assures him, that the traders will pay their debts, whose default is usually the only injury that one who supplies this Trade can sustain.

Arturo O'Neill

Señor Don Estevan Miró.

SEVIER TO GARDOQUI, FRANKLIN, SEPTEMBER 12, 1788[33]

Sir,

Permit me to inform your Excellency that the people of this Country hat [has] been at war a few months past with the Cherokee Nation of Indians, and have entirely drove them out of great part of their Country; It is probable that this Nation may have recourse to the Creek, Chocktow, & Chickasaw Nations in order to form an alliance to prosecute the war against this Country longer if in their power.

I hope we should not be considered troublesome, or impertinent in soliciting the Minister's interposition with those Tribes in our behalf, and to inform them that the Cherokees have wantonly brought on the War themselves by frequently murdering and committing other acts of hostility against the Citizens of this Country, and should the inhabitants of this Country form New Settlements on the Tenesee or near the Mussell Shoals that his Catholic Majesty will be gratiously disposed to reconcile the minds and keep in peace with us, all the Tribes of Indians that come immeadiately under the Notice, and Dominion of Spain.

Your Excellency may assure those Indian Tribes that the people of this country are strictly disposed to live in amity and friendship with them and Never Mean to traspass or in any manner intrude on their Territory . . .

(signed) John s[evier]=James Gardoqui Esquire Minister of Spain)

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[33]A. G. I., P. C., 104. A longer letter of the same date from Sevier to Gardoqui is printed in a Spanish translation and a re-translation into English in Archibald Henderson, "The Spanish Conspiracy in Tennessee," *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, III (1917), 234-35, 244-45. Sevier declared that the inhabitants of Franklin were "unanimously determined" to put themselves under Spanish protection; and he requested from Gardoqui money, munitions, and commercial concessions. According to A. P. Whitaker, "Spanish Intrigue in the Old Southwest, An Episode, 1788-1789," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XII (September, 1925), 6, note 16, the original of this letter is in A. G. I., P. C., 2370, and the Spanish translation in *ibid.*, 177.

EXCERPTS FROM THE DIARY OF A TENNESSEAN AT THE COURT OF THE TSAR, 1818-1820[1]

Edited *by* WEYMOUTH T. JORDAN

George Washington Campbell of Tennessee was one of the most prominent western politicians of the entire Jeffersonian period. Between 1803 and 1818, he was, in succession, Tennessee's representative in Congress, member of the Tennessee Supreme Court of Errors and Appeals, United States senator, secretary of the treasury of the United States, and senator again. Throughout his public career he was, with a few exceptions, an outspoken advocate of the policies sponsored by his Republican presidents. For his support he was often rewarded with appointment to important political offices. At different times he was chairman of the powerful Ways and Means Committee in the national House of Representatives and of the Finance Committee, the Committee on Military Affairs, and the Committee on Foreign Relations in the federal Senate. Few men have held a larger number of important political positions in United States history.[2]

On April 11, 1818, while a member of the United States Senate, Campbell was further honored when President James Monroe named him American minister to Russia.[3] The appointment was of special significance for several reasons. Tsar Alexander I of Russia was at the time considered one of the important leaders of European diplomacy and power politics. The attitude which he might develop toward the policy that the American Department of State was just then evolving in regard to South America was regarded of particular importance.[4] Appointment as American minister to St. Petersburg was properly regarded a great honor, and

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[1]The original of the Campbell Diary is in possession of Mrs. Susan M. Brown, Spring Hill, Tennessee. Microfilm copies of the Diary may be found in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., and in the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

[2]A summary of Campbell's political activities is contained in Weymouth T. Jordan, "The Public Career of George Washington Campbell," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 10 (1938), 1-18. See also his "The Private Interests and Activities of George Washington Campbell," in *ibid.*, No. 8 (1941), 47-65.

[3]James Monroe to Campbell, April 11, 1818, in George Washington Campbell Papers (Library of Congress).

[4]In this connection, see Benjamin Platt Thomas, "Russo-American Relations, 1815-1867" (Johns Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Series XLVIII, No. 2), Baltimore, 1930; "Correspondence of the Russian Ministers in

Campbell jumped at the opportunity offered to him.[5] After several conferences with John Quincy Adams, secretary of state,[6] the Tennessean left Washington to make his journey to Russia.

The Diary edited here began with Campbell's departure from Washington on July 3, 1818 and was continued almost daily until August 23, 1820. Many of the entries made by the minister in his Diary are quite unimportant and irrelevant to his official duties in St. Petersburg, and have been deleted here because of their insignificance. A large portion of the Diary consists of descriptions of museums, art galleries, and other points of interest in and near St. Petersburg that Campbell visited. These entries, too, have been omitted. For the most part, only those portions of the diary which contain references to ministerial duties, as well as accounts of associations with member of the royal family, are printed here. Campbell arrived in St. Petersburg on September 18, 1818, and that evening he recorded that he had "landed and proceeded to the Hotel de l'Europe—where we [his family] took lodgings—a very Splendid building, like a palace."

Sept. 6/18, 1818[7]—Mr. Ch. Pinkney came & presented himself—being Chargé d'affaires etc.—Mr. Pinkney wrote to Monsieur d'Oubril acting Minister of Foreign affairs—advising him of my arrival etc—

Sept. 10/22—I visited monsieur d'Oubril—Counsellor of State actual—

Sept. 16/28—ascertained where a house could be obtained—Dined with Count Laval[8]—& a very pleasant party—The Countess a Sensible woman, making herself very agreeable, & Shewing me very polite attention—

Sept. 25/Oct. 1—This day completed a dispatch, No. 1,[9] to the Secretary of State[10]—

Washington, 1818-1825," *American Historical Review*, XVII (January, 1913), 309-45, and *ibid.*, XVIII (April, 1913).537-62; Dexter Perkins, "Russia and the Spanish Colonies, 1817-1818," *ibid.*, XXVIII (July, 1923), 656-72; and Wiliam Spence Robertson, "Russia and the Emancipation of Spanish America, 1816-1826," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXI (May, 1941), 196-221. See also John Quincy Adams to Campbell, June 28, 1818, in United States Ministers, Instructions, Department of State, VIII, 205-14 (Archives of the Department of State, Washington). Cited hereafter as United States Ministers, Instructions.

[5]*Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 1 Sess. (1817-1818), 385.

[6]Charles Francis Adams (ed.), *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, . . .* (Philadelphia, 1876), IV, 80.

[7]These figures represent the difference between calendars in the United States and Russia.

[8]Count Laval was the minister from France to Russia. He and Campbell became close friends while Campbell lived in St. Petersburg.

[9]In this dispatch Campbell reported that Count Laval had been shocked to learn of General Andrew Jackson's recent military activities in Florida, that the Count expressed the hope that the United States would not countenance Jackson's actions, and also stated that he believed that Tsar Alexander would look on the matter the same way. Campbell closed his dispatch with the statement: "I need not tell you that no one speaks freely here, if at all, on matters of state." Campbell to Adams, September 25, 1818, in Russia, G. W. Campbell (Archives of the Department of State, Washington). Cited hereafter as Russia, G. W. Campbell.

[10]In August, 1818, Adams wrote to Campbell: "Referring to your instructions

Jan. 26/Feb. 7, 1819—this day was presented to the Emperor etc.[11]

Feb. 9/21—I was this day after 12 Oclock presented to the reigning Empress first & afterwards to the Empress mother—being a private audience in both cases—

Feb. 16/28— . . . was this day at 2 Oclock presented to the Grand Duke Nicholas, & the Grand Duchess his wife, daughter of the king of Prussia—a very fine handsome woman—rather tall—fair complexion—delicate in her form, & Soft & elegant in her manner—The Duke himself is a very good-looking man—a plain honest & tolerably intelligent face—& a pleasant countenance . . . .

Apr. 5/17—Elizabeth's [Campbell's young daughter] disease becomes desperate—and about 12 oclock—our lovely innocent dear daughter departs this life, . . .[12]

May 16/28 . . . This day I attended a review of troops by the Emperor, of about 40,000 [men]—on the Place or Square. The troops consisting

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on the subject of South-American affairs, I am now directed to enquire what part you think the Russian Government will take in regard to the dispute between Spain and her Colonies, and in what light they will view an acknowledgment of the Independence of the Colonies by the United States? Whether they will view it as an act of hostility to Spain and in case Spain should declare War against us, in consequence, whether Russia will take part with her in it." Adams to Campbell, August 20, 1818, in United States Ministers, Instructions. On December 22, 1818, in reply to Adams' inquiry, Campbell stated that Alexander I "would view in an unfavorable light an acknowledgment of the independence of the Colonies by our Government," and that the Tsar would use his personal influence on the kings of Europe to induce them to oppose such a move by the United States. Campbell was of the opinion, however, that Alexander would not attempt to check the United States "by engaging single-handed in any great contest." The Tennessean suggested, on the other hand, that Alexander's position of importance be always remembered, remarking that the Tsar was "without doubt the great arbiter of the politics of Europe; . . . " Campbell to Adams, December 22, 1818, in Russia, G. W. Campbell. In an earlier dispatch to Adams, Campbell had stated that no final action on the question of South American colonies had been decided upon at the Aix-la-Chapelle Conference, which had been in session at the time of the Tennessean's arrival in Russia. He had written, too, that England had offered to mediate the disputes between Spain and its former South American possessions, but the English delegates at Aix-la-Chapelle had stated that England would not use force to execute any decision that might result from mediation. Campbell to Adams, October 31, 1818, in *ibid.*

[11]Shortly after this interview, Campbell reported to Adams that the Tsar had stated emphatically that he would not recognize United States recognition of the freedom of the former Spanish colonies in South America. Campbell still believed, however, that Alexander would furnish military aid to Spain only if other European rulers did likewise. Russia would, with the cooperation of other continental powers, "maintain the cause of *legitimacy*, & prevent the establishment of such powerful independent States, as might by giving a wider spread to free principles, tend to endanger its stability." Campbell to Adams, February 18, 1819, in *ibid.* On March 20, 1819. Campbell informed President Monroe that he did not consider the Tsar as having a "great mind" and that "his real character is no doubt that of a calculating politician, rather cautious than enterprising, and not ashamed to use flattery." Campbell to Monroe, March 20, 1819, in James Monroe Papers (Library of Congress). Cited hereafter as Monroe Papers. On May 3, 1819, Campbell reported to Adams that Alexander had seemingly decided against extending help to Spain in its controversies with its colonies. Spain had refused mediation, and Campbell wrote that "since that time, it would seem, a less lively interest is manifested here in relation to the affairs of South America." Campbell to Adams, May 3, 1819, in Russia, G. W. Campbell.

[12]Campbell's son, Benjamin Stoddert, died on March 29, 1819. Another son, George, died on March 31. All of the children died of typhus fever. Only one child, six months of age, survived the epidemic. Following this tragedy, Campbell took no

of Infantry—artillery—Cavalry, Guards etc—appeared to great advantage—The young Duke of Baden—the Empress' Brother was present—[13]

Aug. 8/20—This day attended at Pavlovsky on account of the birth of a daughter of the Grand Duke Nicoli—or Nicholas—a Te deum—and afterwards a Splendid *Court*— after which the Diplomatic corps dined at the Same table with the two *Empresses*—The entertainment was handsome, but not remarkable for richness or Splendor—The wines—indifferent—& complained of—The young Empress, particularly by her fine figure, graceful deportment, & fascinating, Soft manner of those to whom She Spoke . . . attracted much attention & very general admiration—Her modest aspect, & demeanor, add much to the effect produced by her other engaging qualities —Her face is interesting—plain—rather than Striking—& though not handsome—the features are fairly drawn, & pretty well arranged. The old Empress, more masculine—with Strong traits of character—more pompous—fonder of Spice—& Splendor, is however less interesting—and less beloved by the people—We returned in the evening—& reached home about 8 oclock—

Oct. 5/17— . . . Recv through Count Nesselrode [counsellor of state], a Dispatch from the Secretary of State of the U. States, dated of 3 June[14]—No 3 forwarded by Mr. [Albert] Gallatin, from Paris, through the Russian minister there—and also a letter from Mr. Gallatin, dated 18th Aug. last—and wrote to Count Nesselrode acknowledging the rect thereof—

Oct. 11/23—Had this day (at three o'clock) an interview with Count Nesselrode— . . . Conversed on the Subject of the Florida treaty[15]—the Russian Settlements on the north west coast of America—one he Said they had at Francisco—near Columbia river—South of it—respecting which they were in negotiations with Spain.

Nov. 28/Dec. 10—This day at 3 Oclock in the afternoon, had an interview with Count de Nesselrode, Secretary of State, and communicated to him, as instructed in dispatch from Secretary of State, No. 7, of 23 Aug[16]—

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part in the social life of St. Petersburg for more than a month, and indeed from the time of the deaths of his children he had little heart for his official duties. See footnote 17, below.

[13]During the summer of 1819, Campbell visited numerous museums and other points of interest in and near St. Petersburg. The imperial court was away from St. Petersburg during the entire summer.

[14]In this dispatch, Adams informed Campbell that it had been learned through the Russian minister in the United States that Russia was still unwilling to sanction American recognition of the former Spanish colonies in South America. The Russian envoy had stated, moreover, that such recognition by the United States would be looked upon by Alexander I *"as an act of hostility* against Spain the emperor's ally." Adams inquired of Campbell if this were the case. Adams to Campbell, June 3, 1819, in United States Ministers, Instructions, VIII, 340.

[15]On October 13, 1819, two days following the above mentioned interview, Campbell informed Adams that he believed that the emperor would not interevene in Spain's behalf in the matter of the Florida treaty because "the influence of the emperor with Ferdinand (king of Spain) had declined, . . . and the same cordiality did not exist between the two countries as formerly." Campbell to Adams, October 13, 1819, in Russia, G. W. Campbell. Shortly afterwards, Campbell reported further that the Russian government was quite dissatisfied with the dilatory efforts being made by Spain to block ratification of the Florida treaty which had been signed between Spain and the United States in February, 1819. Campbell to Adams, November 1, 1819, in *ibid.*

[16]By the time this dispatch was written, the problem of the ratification of the Florida treaty with Spain had become of particular importance to Adams. The dispatch to Campbell informed him that the United States had agreed to accept Spanish

the views of my government on the subject of our relations with Spain, in regard to the Floridas—etc.

Dec. 12/24— . . . attended Court today at the winter Palace—at 12 Oclock—The Emperor & Empresses were present & took the usual notice of the foreign Ministers by Speaking to each of them—etc—The Grand dukes, & the Grand Duchess—wife of Nicholas, were also present—with the gentlemen & ladies attached to the court—nothing remarkable occurred—In the evening there was a grand *Bal,* given by the Empress mother, on occasion of the Emperor's birth— . . . It was very Splendid—consisted, of between 6 & 700 persons—as estimated—had Supper about 1 Oclock—Court broke up at 2 Oclock—The Emperor & Empresses were remarkably attentive to the Foreign Ministers—

Dec. 31, 1819/Jan. 12, 1820—This day, Count Nesselrode, Secretary of State—& most of the Foreign Ministers dined with me—

Jan. 1/13, 1820— . . . There was a court, today at 12, which I attended —and a grand *bal masque,* in the evening—with a Supper in the Hermitage, at which I was also present— . . . The number that attended the masquerade, who all attended in dominacs, was very great—Said to be 10,000,—of whom a Small party— . . . Supped—The exhibition was very Splendid—The theatre, belonging to the Hermitage, when the Supper was Served, was lighted up in the most Splendid manner—and the whole presented a most Striking effect—

Jan. 7/19— . . . Yesterday, I attended at the palace to witness the ceremony of blessing the waters—being the *Fete of Epiphany*—celebrated here in this manner—The Emperor, & when the cold is not too Severe, the Empresses, proceed on foot from the Palace, with a numerous procession of Priests & Grand officers—to a temple erected for the purpose on the ice, near the bank of the Neva, where [the] archbishop bestows his *benedictions* on the waters etc—There is usually a grand parade on this day—the order for it yesterday, however was counter manded on account of the cold— . . .

Feb. 21/Mar. 4—I attended this day the public Examination of the young ladies educated in the Institution of the Order of St. Charles . . . . After my arrival the young ladies were examined on Natural History—Electricity etc—then they Sang—and afterwards danced— . . . Some of the young ladies Sang remarkarbly well—but the great exactness with which they *all* danced was the most remarkable circumstance attending the exhibition—Their performances resemble that of the Chevalier Guards or a regiment going through their exercises.

June 9/21— . . . I went to Cronstadt, to engage a vessel to convey us to London— . . .[17]

June 16/28— . . . Had this day an interview with Count Nesselrode—

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ratification of the treaty but that the latest date at which it would accept was the first Monday in December, 1819, at which time the next Congress met. Then the matter would be placed before the Senate for decision. President Monroe was determined to assume control of Pensacola and St. Augustine, Florida, even if the Spanish king refused to ratify the treaty. Campbell was asked to forward this information to the Russian government. Adams to Campbell, August 23, 1819, in the United States Ministers, Instructions, VIII, 358-60.

[17]On May 14, 1819, Campbell had informed Adams of the deaths of his children, and on the same day had asked that he be called home. A similar request was made in letters of June 5 and 26, 1819. Campbell to Adams, May 14, June 5, 26,

at his country Seat—etc—on the Subject of my departure etc. etc.[18]

June 21/July 3—Had this day an interview with his Excellency, Count de Nesselrode—& presented Mr. Ch. Pinkney, as the person to remain charged with the affairs of the legation on my departure— . . .

June 24/[July] 6—We are today ready to take our departure— . . . [19]

1819, in Russia, G. W. Campbell. Campbell had also asked President Monroe to recall him. Campbell to Monroe, May 15, 1819, in Monroe Papers. Adams' reply to Campbell was that the President had granted the request "at such time as may suit your wishes; but . . . he hopes you will remain, until the ensuing spring— . . . ." Adams to Campbell, August 23, 1819, in United States Ministers, Instructions, VIII, 360-61.

[18]On May 17, 1820, Campbell had informed Nesselrode of his intention to return to the United States. Campbell to Adams, May 17, 1820, in Russia, G. W. Campbell.

[19]Campbell left Russia on June 26, 1820. He traveled by boat to England, where he remained for several weeks, and then visited briefly in France. Returning to England, he embarked for New York City, where he arrived on October 29, 1820. From New York he went to Washington to report to Monroe and Adams, and after a few weeks in Washington he left for Nashville, his home, which he reached on January, 7, 1821. Shortly after his return to Nashville he was honored guest at a public dinner given by a group of prominent citizens of the city. On January 16, according to a newspaper account of the affair, "a large and respectable assembly sat down at a handsome dinner . . ., at which Major Gen. Andrew Jackson presided." Campbell Diary, June 26-August 23, 1820; *The Nashville Whig*, November 22, 1820, January 10, 24, 1821.

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Compiled *by* Martha L. Ellison

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Corson, Richard M. Davy Crockett and the heroic age. (Southern folklore qr. Je'42. v.6:95-102)

Crabb, Alfred Leland. Dinner at Belmont; a novel of captured Nashville. Indianapolis, Bobbs, 1942. 9-385p.

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Crownover, Arthur, Jr. Judge John Hibbett DeWitt; a biographical sketch. (Tenn. hist. qr. Mr'42. v.1:44-48)

Davidson, Donald. John H. DeWitt: a southern gentleman. (Tenn. hist. qr. Mr'42. v.1:48-50)

DAVIS. Rowell, Adelaide. Sam Davis, patriot. (Americana. 3rd quarter'42. v.36:416-421)

DeJarnette, D.L., jt. author, see Webb, W.S.

DEWITT. Crownover, Arthur, Jr. Judge John Hibbett DeWitt; a biographical sketch. (Tenn. hist. qr. Mr'42. v.1:44-48)

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speech. Reprints and monographs no. 4) New York, King's Crown press, 1942. 110p.

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JACKSON. Stevenson, Augusta. Andy Jackson, boy soldier. (Boyhood of famous Americans ser.) Indianapolis, Bobbs, 1942. 11-196p. [A juvenile book]

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Keefe, Lloyd T. Clarksville planning pays dividends. (Tenn. planner. Sept-Oct'42. v.3:15-23)

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Parks, Joseph H. Memphis under military rule, 1862-1865. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no.14:31-58)

Parks, Norman L. The career of John Bell as congressman from Tennessee, 1827-1841. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept'42. v.1:229-249)

Peeler, Elizabeth H. The policies of Willie Blount as governor of Tennessee, 1809-1815. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec'42. v.1:309-327)

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Rogers, Jesse Littleton. Civil war battles of Chickamauga and Chattanooga. Fayetteville, N.C., E. White, All-American gift shop, 455 Hay st., 1942. 31p. illus.

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Stevens, William Oliver. David Glasgow Farragut, our first admiral. New York, Dodd, 1942. ix, 241p. illus. [A juvenile book]

Stevenson, Augusta. Andy Jackson, boy soldier. (Boyhood of famous Americans ser.) Indianapolis, Bobbs, 1942. 11-196p. [A juvenile book]

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WEBB. Rice, J. A. Two schoolteachers. (Harper's. Jan. '42. v. 184:201-209) [Sawney and John Webb]

———. Webb, W.R.,Jr. "Sawney" Webb; my father and his ideals of education. (Sewanee rev. Ap'42. v.50:227-240)

Whitlatch, George I. Mineral resources, the keystone of Tennessee industry. (Tenn. planner. Nov-Dec'42. v.3:40-55)

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Williams, Samuel Cole. Dim figures in our appellate judiciary. (Tenn. law review. Ap'42. v.17:292-307)

———. Generals Francis Nash and William Lee Davidson. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept'42. v.1:250-268)

———. Judge John Haywood (1762-1826). (Tenn. law rev. Je'42. v.17: 423-439)

———. The Lincolns and Tennessee. Harrogate, Lincoln memorial univ., Dept. of Lincolniana, 1942. 33p. illus. (Rev. ed. of articles in Lincoln herald. v.43, nos. 3 and 4, 1941 and v.44, no.1, 1942)

———. Major-General Richard Winn; South Carolinian and Tennessean. Tenn. hist. qr. Mr'42. v.1:8-20)

———. Western representation in North Carolina assemblies, 1776-1790. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 14:106-112)

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WINN. Williams, S.C. Major General Richard Winn; South Carolinian and Tennessean. (Tenn. hist. qr. Mr'42. v.1:8-20)

UNPUBLISHED MASTER'S THESES, 1942

UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE

Bradshaw, Grace Beatrice. Some phases of the social and economic history of Washington county, Tennessee, 1865-1917

Carroll, Ann Barron. The life of General Luke E. Wright

Laws, Robert H. USHA-aided public housing in the city of Knoxville

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

Alexander, Frank M. Middle devonian residues of Central Tennessee

Moore, E. Glendon. Niagaran residues of Central Tennessee

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Lanier, Charles N., Jr. Public budgeting: with particular reference to Tennessee (Vanderbilt)

Miles, Guy S. Literary beginnings in Nashville, 1815 to 1825 (Vanderbilt)

Parks, Norman Lexington. The career of John Bell of Tennessee in the United States House of Representatives (Vanderbilt)

BOOK NOTICES

Books to be noticed will be those bearing directly or indirectly upon some phase or phases of the history of Tennessee. There is no intention of reviewing books critically; the purpose of the *Publications* will be served in supplying bibliographical data and in indicating something of the nature of the subject matter.

The Tennessee Yeomen, 1840-1860. By Blanche Henry Clark. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1942. xxiii, 200 pp. Maps, tables appendices, footnotes, bibliography, index. $2.00)

"Students of the agricultural population of the antebellum South have overlooked almost entirely the unpublished schedules of the United States Census as data for their investigations. These records, however, supply an accurate and detailed picture of the various farming classes. A study of the Census reports reveals as incorrect the frequent assumption that there were only three classes in the southern agricultural population—slaveholding planters, slaves, and poor whites. There was also a large group of middle-class and yeomen farmers who did not own any slaves. It is with emphasis upon this non-slaveholding portion of the agricultural society that this study has been made.

"Since the southern region as a whole is too large for a single survey, Tennessee is the unit chosen. The geographical and topographical variations within the state, however, make it representative of several different sections of the South." (Introduction).

Morgan and His Raiders: A Biography of the Confederate General. By Cecil Fletcher Holland. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943. xv, 373 pp. Frontispiece, map, footnotes, bibliography, index. $3.50.)

"Morgan is remembered in history principally for his great raids—through Tennessee and Kentucky and across the Ohio River into Indiana and Ohio. But his contributions to the Southern Confederacy were much more than these military operations, however spectacular they were. Early in his career Morgan became one of the South's most popular heroes. In this study the author has attempted to show that Morgan's importance was as much (perhaps more) in helping maintain Southern morale through bitter adversity as it was in raids or passages of arms on the battlefield. An effort has been made to portray Morgan not as he is regarded three-quarters of a century after the war, but as he moved in that world in which he lived and fought and died." (Foreword.)

This biography is based largely on an extensive collection of Morgan papers uncovered by the author.

Champ Ferguson: Confederate Guerilla. By Thurman Sensing. (Nashville, Vanderbilt University Press, 1942. Frontispiece. $2.50.)

"Champ Ferguson was a man strong in purpose and strong in body. Fighting throughout four years of civil strife as a Confederate guerilla, he was too clever to be caught, too strong to be subdued—and possibly too lucky to be killed. All the while he was destroying his enemies. In some manner captured after the War was over, he was formally accused and brought to trial for the murder of the amazing number of fifty-three persons. Testimony revealed that he killed others not mentioned in the charges and specifications. He may have killed still others.

"The story of Champ Ferguson's career, as developed from his trial, is unique in the annals of crime and in the annals of trial. It deals with a phase of the War Between the States that has not been developed to any extent; in fact, that has been largely ignored by historians of the period. It deals with a people—the people of the Cumberland Mountains along the Kentucky-Tennessee border—who are of a type unto themselves in our land. They are marked by a stubbornness of spirit, an independence of action, a fixity of purpose, an Indian-like stoicism." (Preface.)

Elijah Embree Hoss, Ecumenical Methodist. By Isaac Patton Martin. (Nashville, Parthenon Press, 1942. 487 pp. Illustrations, index. $3.50.)

"A short time after the death of Bishop E. E. Hoss, the late Rev. Andrew J. Lamar, D.D., then Senior Publishing Agent of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, proposed to publish a biography of the distinguished Bishop. It was known among the friends of Bishop Hoss that he had kept a diary. In a letter to Bishop Collins Denny, Dr. Sessler Hoss wrote of the papers which his father had left, and which he thought would be of value to the Church. The library and papers of Bishop Hoss were in his home at Muskogee, Okla., which the son had shared with his father, but the brilliant son survived his father for only a brief period. In some unaccountable way diaries and papers disappeared and have not been found. . . .

"In the absence of these papers it has been necessary to rely, chiefly, upon the Journals of the Holston Conference and of the General Conference; and upon the Church Press of the Methodist Churches, North and South, the Press of other Churches, and the Secular Press; and upon such of the correspondence of Bishop Hoss as had been preserved by his daughter, and especially by Bishop Collins Denny, both of whom have given me free access to this correspondence." (Foreword.)

Tennessee Senators as Seen by One of Their Successors. By Kenneth McKellar. (Kingsport, Tennessee: Southern Publishers, Inc., 1942. xiii, 625 pp. Illustrations. $3.00.)

"The writing of these biographical sketches of Tennessee's thirty-nine Senators who have already crossed the great river was the result of my seeing, when I first came to the Senate, the statement in the Senate Manual that William Blount, one of our first two Senators, had been expelled by a vote of twenty-five to one in the Senate. I made up my mind at once that I would look into the reasons for the expulsion and then neglected it from time to time until about two years ago, when I went over to the Congressional Library and made a thorough search into the reasons why he was expelled. Upon making this search I became

convinced of his innocence of the charges made against him, and I wrote up the result of my investigation.

"In making this research my explorations took in the lives of several of Mr. Blount's early friends and associates. I found them so interesting that I continued the study and work until I had written short biographies of all thirty-nine of Tennessee's former Senators, constituting all who have been Senators from Tennessee, except the six of us who are now living." (Foreword.)

The Lincolns and Tennessee. By Samuel C. Williams. (Harrogate, Tennessee: Lincoln Memorial University, 1942. viii, 33 pp. Maps, footnotes, illustrations. $1.00.)

"The author conceives this booklet to be a minor contribution to the vast and rapidly expanding Lincolniana. It will shed additional light on the family from which sprang the Great Emancipator; also upon his relations with one of the States of the Confederacy—Tennessee—and with a Tennessean, Andrew Johnson, who is deemed by this writer to be, of all Tennesseans, the one of greatest native ability." (Preface.)

This booklet is a revised edition of a series of articles which appeared in volumes XLIII and XLIV of the *Lincoln Herald.*

The Tennessee Valley Authority: A Case Study in the Economics of Multiple Purpose Stream Planning. By Joseph Sirera Ransmeier. (Nashville: The Vanderbilt University Press, 1942. xx, 486 pp. Maps, tables, appendices, footnotes, bibliography, index. $3.00.)

"Joint cost allocation has been one of the more controversial issues of the controversial Tennessee Valley Authority power program. A clearer conception of this problem is indispensable to the formulation of a rational federal power policy. It is a purpose of the present study to contribute toward such clarification. In Part I the existence of multiple purposes at TVA among which joint costs may be divided is established. In Parts II and III theories for dividing joint costs among purposes are examined, and the case for breaking down joint costs is critically appraised. Some concluding observations are ventured as to the implications for public water policy of the maturity of the multiple purpose concept.

"But it is with a hope that this volume may have a significance broader than the issue of cost allocation that the author submits it at the present time. In a sense it is an appeal to all who believe in democracy to lay aside their prejudices and examine the facts with reference to an important experiment in their adopted form of government. . . . In this era of crisis the record of the Tennessee Valley Authority, rehearsed and implied in the following pages, should shine as a beacon of hope. Here is a strong decentralized public agency which has been able to shun the evils of the spoils system and to operate flexibly and efficiently in coping with great problems. In a confused world, here are facts which are reassuringly clear. *Here is democracy working.*" (Preface.)

American Speech, Reprints and Monographs, No. 4: The Phonetics of Great Smoky Mountain Speech. By Joseph Sargent Hall. (New York, King's Crown Press, 1942. 110 pp. Footnotes, bibliography. $2.00.)

"It is the purpose of this study to describe the sounds of one of America's most interesting vernaculars—English as it is spoken in the Great Smoky Mountains of Tennessee and North Carolina. The description of this speech has at this time a particular significance, for most of the area in 1926 became a national park." (Introduction.)

Down-East Spirituals and Others. Collected and edited by George Pullen Jackson. (New York, J. J. Augustin, 1942. 226 pp. Illustrations, scores, footnotes, bibliography, index. $5.50.)

"In my recently published collection, *Spiritual Folk-Songs of Early America,* only about one half the song material then known was used. The present volume presents the other half augmented by scores of songs found during the past two years largely in the tradition of the Northeast." (Introduction.)

— NOTE —

Members of the East Tennessee Historical Society and libraries and educational institutions are entitled to a 20% discount on purchases of

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NOTES AND NEWS, 1942

Dr. William C. Binkley of the History Department of Vanderbilt University was the speaker at the annual banquet of the East Tennessee Historical Society on October 2. His subject was "Some Undeveloped Phases of Tennessee History." The work of the Tennessee Historical Commission, of which he is the chairman, was described by Judge Samuel Cole Williams of Johnson City.

The Calvin M. McClung Award of $50.00 was won by Joseph H. Parks of Memphis State College for his contribution to *Publications* No. 14 on "Memphis Under Military Rule, 1862-1865." Judges were: John D. Barnhart, Indiana University; Ralph P. Bieber, Washington University, St. Louis; and A. J. Hanna, Rollins College.

Officers and editors of the East Tennessee Historical Society for 1943 were elected at the December meeting as follows:—

J. Wesley Hoffmann, president; S. C. Williams, Johnson City, Helen M. Harris, Knoxville, and Adelaide Rowell, Chattanooga, vice-presidents; Martha L. Ellison, secretary; Laura E. Luttrell, treasurer; S. O. Houston and Arda Walker, members of the executive committee; S. J. Folmsbee, editor; V. M. Queener, associate editor; Culver H. Smith and W. Neil Franklin, members of the editorial board.

The following papers and addresses were presented before the regular monthly meetings of the East Tennessee Historical Society:

January. "Social and Economic Views of Andrew Jackson" by Miss Arda Walker, Maryville.

February. "John Casper Branner, Tennessean" by Leo J. Zuber, Knoxville.

March. "Proposed Mountain Culture Program for the Great Smoky Mountains" by Charles S. Grossman, Gatlinburg.

April. "Edward Terry Sanford as Associate Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court" by Allen E. Ragan, Greeneville.

May. "Life of Judge Henry Richard Gibson" by E. E. Patton, Knoxville.

June. 150th anniversary of Knox County Court. "Knox County's First Court House - Stone's Tavern" by Miss Laura E. Luttrell; "The History of the Knox County Court" by James G. Johnson.

November. "Bean Station Tavern" by Robert Howes, Knoxville.

December. "The Circuit Rider" by Rev. I. P. Martin, Knoxville.

A new historical journal, *The Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, sponsored by the Tennessee Historical Commission and the Tennessee Historical Society, began publication in March under the editorship of Dr. William C. Binkley of the Vanderbilt History Department. Members of the Publication Committee were Robert H. White, William E. Beard and Hallum W. Goodloe. Purpose of the new *Quarterly*, as stated in the first issue is "first, to encourage the serious study of the history of the state by providing a medium for the publication of papers and articles on any phase of that history; second, to make available in more convenient form as much as possible of the manuscript material, from both official and unofficial collections, upon which the work of the historian must always depend; and third, to serve as an agency for the dissemination of information concerning the historical activities of individuals or associations in the state."

In November Dr. Binkley resigned as editor and Prof. Daniel M. Robison, also of Vanderbilt, was chosen to succeed him. A Board of Advisers to assist in passing upon articles and in searching out such material has been named for 1943. Among the members are two officers of the East Tennessee Historical Society - Judge Williams and Dr. Folmsbee. Others are Stanley F. Horn, Dr. Fremont P. Wirth, Dr. Marshall Wingfield, and Dr. Joseph H. Parks.

All officers of the Tennessee Historical Society were reelected at the annual meeting on December 8. They are:—

Stanley F. Horn, president; S. C. Williams, Johnson City, R. B. C. Howell, Nashville, Walter Chandler, Memphis, and Mrs. Rhea Garrett, Dixon Springs, vice-presidents; Robert T. Quarles, Jr., recording secretary; Mrs. John T. Moore, corresponding secretary; and Mrs. John H. DeWitt, treasurer.

The Tennessee Historical Society and the Tennessee Historical Commission are cooperating with the Tennessee State Library in the collection and preservation of letters from soldiers on the battle-fronts or from camps nearer home. Letters will be deposited in the state archives where they will be free from danger of fire or loss.

The annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association for 1942 was canceled. Officers for 1943, elected by mail, are:—

J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, University of North Carolina, pres-

ident; W. H. Stephenson, Louisiana State University, vice-president; J. W. Patton, North Carolina State College, secretary-treasurer; A. J. Hanna, Rollins, W. G. Bean, Washington and Lee, and J. B. Sanders, University of Tennessee, members of the executive council.

At a called meeting of the executive council of the Southern Historical Association held in Atlanta on October 18, it was voted to accept the withdrawal of Louisiana State University from the sponsorship of the *Journal of Southern History* and to transfer the editorial office to Vanderbilt University. Dr. William C. Binkley will serve as editor in 1943, with Dr. Henry L. Swint as his associate.

The ninth annual meeting of the Tennessee Folklore Society was held November 7 at Tennessee Polytechnic Institute in Cookeville. Dr. George Pullen Jackson delivered the president's address.

The American Society of Archivists and the American Association for State and Local History held annual meetings in Richmond, Virginia, October 26-28. At a joint dinner meeting presided over by the National Archivist, Solon J. Buck, the chief speaker was Dr. C. C. Crittenden of the North Carolina Historical Commission, who is president of the State and Local History group. Officers elected for next year are:—R. D. W. Conner, University of North Carolina, president of the Archivists, and Edward P. Alexander, Wisconsin State Historical Society, president of the American Association for State and Local History.

The American Association for State and Local History is publishing a series of *Bulletins* in addition to its *State and Local History News*. *Bulletin* subjects for 1942 include "Local History and Winning the War," "Using Volunteers in the Local Historical Society's Program," and "The Local History Museum and the War Program."

Dr. David Alexander Lockmiller, formerly head of the Department of History and Political Science at North Carolina State College, Raleigh, became president of the University of Chattanooga in September. He succeeded Dr. Archie M. Palmer, president since 1938, who resigned to take a government position. Dr. Lockmiller is the first U. of C. president to be a native of Tennessee. His home is at Athens.

The new president of Tennessee College at Murfreesboro is Dr. John B. Clark, who was professor of history and dean of the graduate school at Mercer University.

Dr. John E. Pomfret resigned as professor of history and dean of the senior college and graduate school at Vanderbilt to accept the presidency of William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Virginia. His successor at Vanderbilt is Dr. Philip Davidson who came from Agnes Scott College.

The McClung Historical Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, has added to its file of newspapers on microfilm the *Pennsylvania Gazette* from 1728 to 1789.

The University of Tennessee Library has acquired a collection of 47 original manuscript letters and business accounts relating to Tennessee, East Tennessee College, and adjoining states and bearing dates from 1819 to 1875.

The Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina now owns the letters, autobiography and genealogical material of J. G. M. Ramsey of Tennessee, 1716-1879.

Among recent accessions of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress are: 123 papers of Andrew Jackson, A. J. Donelson and Emily Donelson from 1779 to 1837; one volume of about 500 letter-press copies of letters of Edward L. Hartz, captain and chief assistant quartermaster of the Department of the Cumberland, Chattanooga, May 31 to August 11, 1864; 20 papers of John K. Shellenberger relating to the Battle of Franklin, Tennessee, May 1, 1862 - October 2, 1913.

Marshall Wingfield of Memphis has been authorized by the Tennessee Historical Commission to write the biography of the Confederate general, A. P. Stewart.

A marker to the memory of Elizabeth Paxton Houston, mother of Sam Houston, was dedicated at Baker's Creek Church, Blount County, November 8. The Tennessee Historical Commission contributed to the fund for the erection of the marker. At the dedication ceremony a sketch of Mrs. Houston's life was given by Judge Samuel O. Houston of Knoxville.

As successor to the Tennessee Historical Records Survey, the Work Projects Administration has set up in cooperation with the Tennessee State Planning Commission a War Services Project which will issue publications from time to time.

The Social Science Research Council awarded grants-in-aid to Frank L. Owsley, Vanderbilt, to complete a study of the economic and social structure of Georgia from 1785 to 1860; to Paul Barnett, U. T., to complete an analysis of state programs for industrial development in 13 southern states; and to Alexander Taylor Edelmann, University of Kentucky, to complete a study of the

effects of the TVA program of public ownership of power on local government.

Among the men now in military service from Tennessee are Dr. Jennings B. Sanders, head of the University of Tennessee History Department; Dr. Earl F. Cruickshank, associate professor of history at Vanderbilt; and Dr. Thomas P. Govan, associate professor of history at the University of the South.

In the absence of Dr. J. B. Sanders for service in the army, Dr. J. Wesley Hoffmann is acting head of the History Department at the University of Tennessee.

The birth of James Robertson 200 years ago was celebrated on June 28 by the General James Robertson Chapter, D.A.R., Nashville.

Announcement was made in February that the U. S. Department of the Interior has officially designated a peak in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park as Mount Lanier. The 3,145 elevation is near Montvale Springs, where Sidney Lanier, poet, novelist and Confederate soldier, spent part of his boyhood.

A series of brief sketches of "Old Homes of Tennessee" by Gilbert M. Orr appeared in issues of the *Nashville Banner* in September, October, and November. Most of the homes described were in Maury County and adjoining regions.

On October 17 and 18 Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, dedicated a Civil War Memorial Room in its library. The dinner speaker was Stanley F. Horn, president of the Tennessee Historical Society, who spoke on "Hood's Campaign in Tennessee."

Albert Virgil Goodpasture, a member of the Tennessee Historical Commission since its inception and secretary of the Tennessee Historical Society from 1903 to 1912, died in Nashville on December 3. Mr. Goodpasture was born in 1855 and graduated from U. T. in the class of 1875. He was the author of many articles and books, notably that standard reference work, *History of Tennessee*, on which he worked with William R. Garrett as co-author. The last 28 years of his life were spent at his farm home in the Oakland community of Montgomery County.

Lemuel R. Campbell died at his home near Nashville on November 3. He was a direct descendant of Captain David Campbell, William Bowen and John Owen, all officers in the Continental Army and was the son of Governor William B. Campbell, last Whig governor of Tennessee. He was an active

member of the Tennessee Historical Society for nearly 30 years and made many gifts to its collections.

Miss Augusta Bradford, well known to historians as head of the History and Genealogy Department of the Chattanooga Public Library, where she had worked since 1922, died on September 12. Miss Bradford was a native of Dandridge but had been a resident of Chattanooga for 61 years. A lengthy sketch of her life and work, written by Judge Charles W. Lusk, was published in the *Chattanooga Times* of October 6, and on October 16 the board of trustees of the Public Library adopted resolutions expressing the library's great loss.

The Tennessee Historical Society lost one of its most interested and active members by the death at Nashville on June 16 of Judge Arthur Crownover at the age of 67.

Charles C. Trabue, for many years vice-president of the Tennessee Historical Society, died at Nashville on September 12. A lawyer for more than 45 years, he was president of the Tennessee State Bar Association in 1931-32. He served as secretary of the board of directors of the Nashville Public Library from the time of its organization.

Oscar W. Handly, a life member of the East Tennessee Historical Society, died at his home in Knoxville on December 16.

DIRECTORY OF CONTRIBUTORS

William C. Binkley is professor of history and head of the Department of History at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, and managing editor of the *Journal of Southern History*.

Arda Walker is a teacher of history at the Maryville High School, Maryville, Tennessee.

James W. Livingood is professor of economics at the University of Chattanooga, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

Verton M. Queener is professor of history at Maryville College, Maryville, Tennessee.

Allen E. Ragan is professor of history at Tusculum College, Greeneville, Tennessee.

D. C. Corbitt is professor of history at Candler College, Havana, Cuba. Roberta Corbitt, his wife, an accomplished linguist, assisted in the translations.

Weymouth T. Jordan, an assistant professor of history at the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, Alabama, is now on leave serving as an officer in the United States Navy.

Martha L. Ellison is head of the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

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